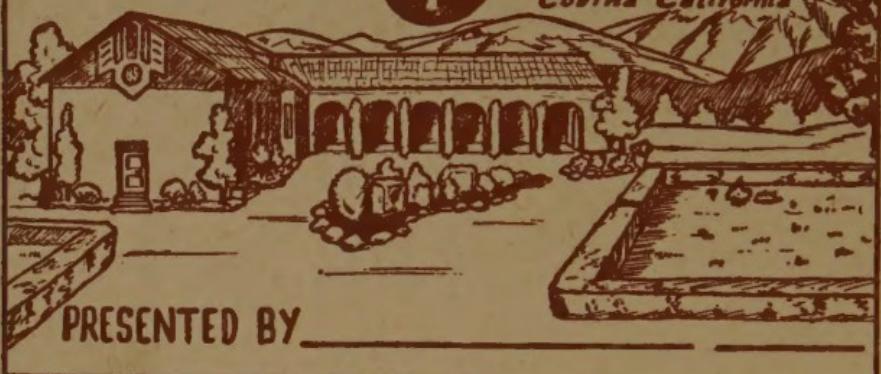


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1879

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СОСТАВЛЕННАЯ АКАДЕМИЕЙ

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
OLD ENGLISH PROSE WRITERS.

VOL. VII.
LATIMER'S SERMONS.



‘Vestigia nostra retrorsum.’

BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY.
CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXII.

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OUT of the olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this newe corn fro yere to yere;
And out of olde booke, in goode faithe,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.

CHAUCER.

BOSTON:
Samuel N. Dickinson, Printer,
52, Washington Street.

SELECT SERMONS.

BY HUGH LATIMER.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS WRITINGS.



BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY.
CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXII.

“Old HUGH LATIMER—one who had lost more learning than many ever had, who flout at his plain sermons; though his downright style was as necessary in that ignorant age, as it would be ridiculous in ours. Indeed, he condescended to people’s capacity; and many men unjustly count those low in learning, who indeed do but stoop to their auditors. Let me see any of our sharp wits do that with the edge, which his bluntness did with the back of the knife, and persuade so many to restitution of stolen goods.”

FULLER.

“LATIMER—brave, sincere, honest, inflexible—exercising his power over men’s minds by a fervid eloquence, flowing from the deep conviction which animated his plain, pithy, and free-spoken sermons.”

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN a series of works like the present, it was thought neither practicable nor desirable to include the whole of Latimer's forty sermons, which in the old copies occupy the space of a small quarto. It has accordingly been the Editor's aim, in preparing this volume, to select such passages as exhibited most strongly the characteristic peculiarities of the worthy Father. The three first sermons are printed entire; then follow six in an abridged form; and the remainder of the volume consists of miscellaneous selections.

The text of this edition is for the most part a transcript from that of Watkins, London, 1824, which purports to have been formed from a careful collation of the early editions. In not a few instances, however, a different reading has been substituted, taken from the

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editions of 1549, 1607, and 1635, all of which were fortunately in the Editor's hands. The edition first mentioned, that of 1549, is the "princeps," a small 16mo. in black letter, and contains only the seven sermons preached in that year before King Edward VI. From this very rare and curious copy are now restored for the first time—on pages 178–81,—the passages relating to the death of Lord Admiral Seymour, which appear to have been omitted in all the subsequent impressions. Mention is made in them of two papers which the Admiral wrote, during his imprisonment in the Tower, to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, instigating them to conspire against his brother, the Protector. If Watkins had ever read the sermon in this primitive edition, he would not have hazarded the assertion, that "not one word occurs in it about the correspondence of the Admiral."

The next volume of the Library will contain Selections from the Works of Jeremy Taylor.

ALEXANDER YOUNG.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 20, 1832.

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SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
HUGH LATIMER.*

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475. His father was a reputable yeoman, who rented a small farm, upon which in those frugal times he maintained a large family, consisting of one son and six daughters.

The juvenile part of Latimer's life affords nothing worthy of notice. It was not till about the year 1500, when having taken the degree of M. A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, and entered into Priest's orders, his zeal for the doctrines of the Romish church manifested itself by violent declamations against the German reformers, whose opinions had at that time begun to be propagated in Eng-

* The following life is chiefly compiled from Wrangham's British Plutarch, Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers, and Fox's Acts and Monuments.

land. If any professor, suspected of favoring their tenets, read lectures, he attended ; and the University, in recompense for his zeal, having conferred upon him the office of cross-bearer, he exercised his authority over the scholars by driving them from their schools.*

Fortunately however for the cause of the Reformation in England, of which he subsequently became so illustrious a support, he contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Bilney ; who entertaining a good opinion of him from his moral character, and having entered into some conferences with him upon religious subjects, took occasional opportunities of insinuating, that some of the tenets of popery were not consonant to primitive Christianity ; thus gradually exciting a spirit of inquiry in Latimer, who had always acted upon honest principles ; till in the end, he was fully convinced of his errors. From this time, he became extremely active in propagating the reformed faith ; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where pressing the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to the superstitious mummeries which then prevailed in the Romish church.

The first remarkable opposition he encountered from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons, which he preached during the festival

* Upon taking his degree of B. D., he delivered an oration against Melanchthon, whom he treated with great severity, for what he called ‘ his impious innovations in religion !’

of Christmas before the University. In these he delivered his sentiments concerning the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererogation; inveighed against the multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was at that time encumbered, and the pride and usurpation of the hierarchy ; and dwelt more particularly upon the great abuse of locking up the Scriptures in an unknown language.

Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses. Latimer was already a preacher of considerable eminence, and displayed a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy observing him much followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckingham, prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays afterward, and with great pomp and prolixity endeavoured to show the dangerous tendency of the new opinions, especially those which contended for the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. “The ploughman,” said he, “when he heareth this in the Gospel, ‘No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God,’ might peradventure, hearing this, cease from the plough. Likewise the baker, when he hears that ‘A little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough,’ might percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospel, ‘If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee,’ ”

may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars."

To this species of reasoning his ardent opponent listened with secret pleasure, and determined in his next discourse to expose the solemn trifler. On the following Sunday, when it was known Latimer would preach, the whole University assembled. All his words and actions were pervaded by a vein of pleasantry and humor, which it was imagined, would upon this occasion have its full course: and the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, Buckingham himself entered the church with his friar's cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself with an air of importance before the pulpit.

Latimer having first with great gravity recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, and placed them in the strongest light, proceeded to rally them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humor, that without the least appearance of ill-nature he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then ably appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understanding, expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with so much contempt, and wished 'his honest countrymen might only be indulged in the use of the Scriptures till they showed themselves such absurd interpreters.' He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon Scripture metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he con-

tended, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "As for example, said he (addressing himself to that part of the audience, where the Prior was seated) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but knows well enough the meaning of the matter; which is to point out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them.*

This levity, however, Latimer himself probably thought not necessarily demanded by the subject; for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long afterward attacked him again, in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking, upon the same subject, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar, what is worth answering; and like a man of sense, he leaves the absurd part to answer itself. But whether jocose or serious, his harangues were so animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: his light raillery had shut up the Prior within his monastery, and his solid arguments drove Venetus from the University. From the joint labors of Bilney and Latimer, whose lives strictly corresponded with the purity of their doctrines, the protestant cause speedily acquired great credit at Cambridge; and no academ-

* "With this sermon," says Fox, "friar Buckingham was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer."

ical censures were found sufficient to deter the students from attending their lectures.

Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, being solicited to silence Latimer, after hearing him preach, though he expressed his approbation of his discourse, prohibited him from occupying any of the pulpits within his diocese. But this gave no great check to the reformers; for a Prior* in Cambridge, who favored the principles of the reformation, and whose monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, boldly licensed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having strongly excited public curiosity, the Friars' chapel was unable to contain the crowds which attended. His diocesan himself was frequently one of his hearers; and candidly declared, that Mr. Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard.

The credit which he had thus gained by his preaching, he maintained by the sanctity of his manners. Nor did Mr. Bilney and he satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably: they gave daily instances of piety and benevolence, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They were always in company, concerting measures for the advancement of true religion; and the place where they used to walk, was long afterward known by the name of 'The Heretics' Hill.' Cambridge at the time, was full of their good actions; and their extensive charities to the poor, with their friendly

* Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars.

visits to the sick and the afflicted, were the topics of universal conversation.

At length heavy complaints were sent to the ministry in London, of the surprising increase of heresy, of which Latimer was accused as the principal propagator; and Wolsey in consequence, importuned by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the prelates then at court, ordered Latimer to appear before him at York House. After some private conversation, however, he dismissed him courteously, and granted him a special license to preach wherever he chose.

Of this privilege Latimer speedily availed himself, in different parts of the kingdom: he had even once or twice the honor of preaching before Henry VIII, at Windsor, upon which occasions the king took particular notice of his discourses. This encouraged him to write a very bold letter to his majesty, when the royal proclamation was issued forbidding the use of the English Bible, and other books on religious subjects. But the influence of the Popish party was then so powerful, that his letter produced no effect. Henry, however, thanked him for his well-meant advice, and was so much impressed with his simple and familiar style, that from this time it appears he entertained thoughts of taking him into his service.

Favorable opportunities soon occurred to recommend Latimer to the royal favor: for on the grand points of the divorce and of the supremacy, he exerted himself strenuously at Cambridge in favor of

the king's designs ; especially upon the latter, on which occasion he joined with Dr. Butts, the king's physician, in obtaining the opinions of several divines and canonists in that University in its support. In return for this assistance, Butts took Latimer with him to court ; and Cromwell, who was then rising into power, and a warm friend of the Reformation, having already conceived a high opinion of him, speedily procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltshire, whither he determined as soon as possible to repair, and keep a constant residence. Dr. Butts, surprised at his resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it. "He was deserting," he told him, "the fairest opportunities of making his fortune." But Latimer was not a man upon whom such arguments could have any weight. He quitted the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish. His behaviour was suitable to his resolutions. He had thoroughly considered the duties of a clergyman, and he discharged them in the most conscientious manner. Not satisfied indeed with discharging them merely in his own parish, under the authority of a general license from his University he extended his labors throughout the county, wherever he observed the pastoral care to be neglected.

His preaching, which was in a strain wholly different from that of the times, rendered him highly acceptable to the people ; among whom he quickly established himself in great credit. He was treated,

likewise, with the utmost courtesy by the neighbouring gentry ; and at Bristol, where he frequently occupied the pulpit, he was countenanced by the magistrates themselves. His growing reputation presently alarmed the orthodox clergy in those parts, and their hostility made its appearance upon the following occasion. The Mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach in that city on Easter Sunday ; when suddenly an order was issued by the Bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one from preaching there without his license. Upon this the clergy of the place waited on Latimer, informed him of the inhibition, and knowing that he had no such license, “ were extremely sorry, that they were thus deprived of the pleasure of hearing his excellent discourse.” Latimer received their hypocritical civility with a smile ; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew that these were the very persons who had prejudiced the bishop against him.

Their opposition to him became, subsequently, more public. Some of them in their zeal even ascended the pulpit, to inveigh against him with the utmost indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubberdin, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Latimer’s character, that he thought it proper at length to justify himself ; and accordingly, he called upon his calumniators to accuse him publicly before the May-

or of Bristol. And with all men of candor he was justified ; for when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing proof of what they had averred, the whole accusation was found to rest upon the miserable evidence of hearsay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus to be silenced. The party against him became, daily, stronger and more inflamed. It consisted in general of the country priests, headed by some divines of higher eminence. These persons after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons ; in which he was charged with speaking lightly ‘of the worship of saints,’ with asserting that ‘there was no material fire in hell,’ and that ‘he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard’s Tower ;’ and laid them, in the form of an accusation, before Stokesley, Bishop of London. This prelate immediately cited Latimer to appear before him. But Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary, thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, determined at any rate to get him into his power. He applied therefore to Archbishop Warham, who was prevailed upon to issue a citation from his own court, which Latimer obeyed. His friends persuaded him to leave the country ; but their entreaties were fruitless, and he set out for London, though it was then the depth of winter, and he was actually laboring under a severe fit both of the

stone and the colic. His bodily complaints, however, did not give him so much pain, as the thought of leaving his parish exposed, where the popish clergy, he feared, would not fail in his absence to undo all that he had hitherto been doing. Upon his arrival in London, he found a court of bishops and canonists assembled to receive him; but instead of being examined, as he had expected, about his sermons, he was ordered to subscribe a paper, declaring "his belief in the doctrine of purgatory, in the efficacy of masses, of prayers to the saints, and of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, in the perpetual obligation of vows of celibacy, unless dispensed with by the pope, in the papal power to forgive sins, in the seven sacraments," and in the other absurd usages which at that time characterised the Romish Church.

Having perused the contents, he refused to sign it. The Archbishop with a frown desired him well to consider what he did. "We intend not," said he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again; both sides continuing inflexible. The bishops however, being determined, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with greater severity. They examined him three times every week, with

a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to tease him finally into compliance. He had, indeed, a very narrow escape, from the influence of his friends about the king ; for this very ecclesiastical court had proceeded nearly in the same manner with Bilney, who after a similar examination had been persuaded by Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, to recant, and to bear a fagot upon his shoulder in token of submission. This happened in 1528, and Bilney subsequently feeling great remorse of conscience for his recantation, became extremely melancholy, avoiding company, and observing the severity of an ascetic : after which he went about preaching the Reformation, and confessing the guilt of his abjuration ; till at length in 1531 he was apprehended by the Bishop of Norwich, and burnt in pursuance of a writ from the Ecclesiastical Court at London, as a relapsed heretic. The king, apprized (most probably, by Lord Cromwell's means) of the ill usage which Latimer had met with, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies.

The attachment which Latimer had shown to the cause of the Reformation, the assistance which he had given in forwarding the divorce, and the services which he might perform in a more conspicuous station, were strong inducements to engage the queen, Anne Boleyn, and Cromwell, now prime minister, to urge his promotion. They therefore jointly recommended him to the king for one of the bishoprics, Worcester or Salisbury, both at this

time vacant by the deprivation of Ghinuccio and Campeggio, two Italian bishops, who had fallen under the royal displeasure. Henry, thus powerfully solicited, and being himself likewise strongly disposed in his favor, offered him the see of Worcester, which he accepted in 1535.

All the contemporary historians represent him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new functions. In reforming the clergy of his diocese, which he deemed the chief branch of the episcopal office, he was uncommonly active and resolute. With the same spirit he presided over his Ecclesiastical Court. In his visitations he was frequent and attentive ; in ordaining, strict and wary ; in preaching, indefatigable ; in reproofing and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

Thus far he could act with authority ; but in other things, he still found himself under numerous difficulties. The ceremonies of the popish worship gave him great offence : and yet, in times so unsettled, he neither durst wholly lay them aside ; nor, on the other hand, was he willing to retain them. In this dilemma, his address was admirable. He inquired into their origin ; and, when he found any of them derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate that original meaning in the room of a corrupt interpretation. Thus, when bread and water were distributed, he taught the people that "these elements, which had long been regarded as endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacra-

ments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism. The former," he said, "reminded us of Christ's death; and the latter was a representation of our being purified from sin."

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined within his own diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a summons to attend the parliament and the convocation. This meeting was opened in the usual form by a Latin sermon, or rather an oration, delivered by Latimer, whose eloquence was now every where celebrated. As he did not, however, particularly distinguish himself in the debates of the convocation, which ran very high between the protestant and popish parties, we shall only add, that a bold attempt was made to subject him and Cranmer to some public censure; but, through their own and Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

Latimer in the mean while, after a short stay in London, satisfied with the prospect of a reformation, repaired to his diocese. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for politics; and therefore he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, without affecting to display either the abilities of the statesman, or those of the courtier. How very unqualified indeed he was to support the latter of these characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story. It was the custom of the prelacy, at that time, to make pres-

ents to the sovereign upon the first day of a new year ; and many of them, proportioning their gifts to their ambition, were extremely liberal upon such occasions. Among the rest, the Bishop of Worcester, being at this season in town, waited upon the king with his offering : but instead of a purse of gold, the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with the leaf doubled down in a very conspicuous manner at the passage, “ Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge !” *

After residing about two years in his diocese, he was again summoned to London in 1539 to attend the business of parliament ; and soon after his arrival, he was accused before the king of having preached a seditious sermon. This sermon, which he had delivered at court, was unquestionably very severe against whatever he observed amiss. His accuser, said to have been a person of considerable eminence, was most probably Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester ; who was now coming into high favor, and had alienated the royal mind from the protestant interest. Latimer, being called upon by his majesty with some sternness to vindicate himself, far from denying or even palliating what he had uttered, boldly justified it ; and turning to his sovereign with that noble unconcern, which a good conscience ever inspires, added : “ I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a

* “ With a napkin,” says Fox, “ having this posy, Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.”

preacher before your grace ; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters : for I grant, there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am ; and if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preached before your grace." The magnanimity of this answer baffled his accuser's malice : the severity of Henry's countenance relaxed into a gracious smile ; and the Bishop was dismissed with an obliging freedom, which this monarch never adopted but toward those whom he esteemed.

About this time, the Six Articles of Religion, having passed both Houses, received the royal assent. They were justly styled 'The Bloody Articles' by the Protestants, who foresaw that they were calculated to restore the Romish religion. It was enacted by the statute, that "whoever should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, either in speech or by writing, should as heretics be burnt without the privilege of abjuration, and forfeit their estates to the king :" and that "whoever should maintain the necessity of communicating in both species, or affirm that it was lawful for priests to marry, that vows of chastity might be violated, that private masses were useless, or that auricular con-

fession was not necessary to salvation, should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy.'

Thus were Papists and Protestants, by the versatility and violence of Henry's disposition, equally exposed to the flames: the first, if they denied the king's supremacy; the latter, if they opposed the Six Articles. Latimer was one of the first who took offence at these articles: he not only refused indeed to give his vote in favor of them, but thinking it wrong even to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, he also resigned his bishopric. Returning from the parliament-house to his lodgings he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, that "he felt lighter than he had ever found himself before."

After this, he immediately retired into the country, where he resolved to spend the remainder of his days in a sequestered life. But a dangerous bruise, occasioned by the fall of a tree, obliging him to seek better assistance than could be afforded by the surgeons in his immediate neighbourhood, he again repaired to London. Here he found things in a still worse condition than he had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester, who had been the principal instruments in the ruin of the Earl of Essex, were now at the head of the popish party; and, under their direction, such a scene of blood was exhibited, as England had never before been doomed to behold. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their

bigotry ; and, being accused of having spoken against the Six Articles, was in consequence committed to the Tower. It does not appear, indeed, that any formal process was carried on against him, or that he was ever judicially examined. But, under one pretence or another, he suffered a cruel confinement during the remainder of Henry's reign.

After having spent upward of six years in the Tower, on the accession of Edward VI, Latimer, with all the rest who had been imprisoned in the same cause, was set at liberty ; and as his old friends were now in power, he was received by them with every mark of affection. The parliament even addressed the Protector to replace him in the bishopric of Worcester. But on the resumption being proposed to Latimer, he desired to be excused, alleging his advanced age, and the claim which he consequently had to privacy and quiet. Having thus freed himself from all encumbrances, he accepted an invitation from his friend Archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redress the injuries of the poor people ; and his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers from every part of the kingdom resorted to him for the redress of their grievances. In these occupations, and in assisting Cranmer to compose the Homilies, he spent upward of two years.

But as he was one of the most eloquent preach-

ers in England, he was appointed during the first three years of the new reign, to preach the Lent sermons before the King.* Upon these occasions, he attacked the vices of the great with honest freedom ; charging them in particular with covetousness, bribery, and extortion so emphatically, that it was impossible for them by any self-deceit to avoid the direct application of his reproofs to themselves.

Upon the revolution at court, which took place after the Duke of Somerset's death, he retired into the country, and availed himself of the royal license, as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labors might be most useful : but on the accession of Mary, this privilege was withdrawn. The Bishop of Winchester, who had proscribed him among the first, cited him before the Council. Of this summons he had notice some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence ; like other eminent Reformers of the time, choosing rather to meet, than to avoid persecution.

* At this time there were no sermons, except in the principal churches, and upon some particular fasts and festivals. Such crowds, we are informed by Heylin, went to hear Latimer, that the pulpit was removed out of the Royal Chapel into the Privy Garden ; and so great was the effect of his discourses, that restitution was made to the king of very considerable sums, of which he had been defrauded.

The messenger, therefore, found him equipped for his journey ; at which expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, “that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life ; and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third.” The messenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. Hence it appears, that their object was rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public examination.

Latimer, upon opening the letter, and finding in it a citation from the Council, resolved to obey it. He set out, therefore, immediately for London. As he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said cheerfully. “This place hath long groaned for me.” The next morning he waited upon the Council, who, after loading him with reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but the repetition of a former part of his life, accompanied however with harsher treatment, and giving him more frequent occasions to exercise his resignation, a virtue which no man more eminently possessed. Neither did the usual hilarity of his disposition now forsake him ; of which we have a remarkable instance left on record. A servant going out of his apartment, Latimer called after him, and bid him “ tell his master, that unless he took better care of him, he should cer-

tainly escape him." Upon this message the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to him, and desired an explanation of the message. "Why, you expect, I suppose, Mr. Lieutenant, (replied Mr. Latimer,) that I shall be burnt; but, if you do not allow me a little fire this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be starved."

About the same time Archbishop Cranmer, and Ridley, Bishop of London, were committed to the Tower.

After they had remained there some months, the convocation sent them to Oxford, to attend a public disputation, where (it was said) the long-pending controversy between the Papists and the Protestants would be finally decided by the most eminent divines of both parties. But upon their arrival, in March, 1554, they were all closely confined in the common prison, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; a plain proof that no free discussion was intended. In this comfortless situation, their chief resource was prayer, in which they spent great part of every day. Latimer, in particular, would often continue kneeling, till he was unable to rise without help. The principal subject of his petitions was, that "God would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last; that he would again restore his gospel to England; and that he would preserve the Princess Elizabeth to be a comfort to the land."

The commissioners from the convocation arrived at Oxford in April, and assembled in St. Mary's

church, where arrayed in scarlet they seated themselves before the high altar, and having placed the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, in the middle, sent for the prisoners. Cranmer and Ridley, being first brought in, were told that the convocation had signed their belief of the following articles, which the queen expected they would either subscribe or confute : “ 1. The natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament after the words of consecration ; 2. In the sacrament, after the words of consecration, no other substance does remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ ; 3. In the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead.” Cranmer and Ridley having refused to sign these articles, copies were delivered to them, and the prolocutor fixed two separate days, when he told them it would be expected, that they should publicly argue against them.

Latimer was next introduced, like a primitive martyr, in his prison attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost exhausted with pressing through the crowd ; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and saying “ he was a very old man,” sat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him ; when he also denied them. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old Bishop, with as much cheerfulness as he would have

shown on the most ordinary occasion, shook his palsied head, and with a smile replied, "Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well qualified to be made governor of Calais." He then complained that "he was very old and infirm," and said that "he had the use of no book but that under his arm, which he had read seven times over deliberately, without finding the least mention made of the mass." In this speech he gave great offence by saying, in his humorous way, (alluding to transubstantiation) that "he could find neither the marrow-bones nor the sinews of the mass in the New Testament." Upon which the prolocutor cried out, with some warmth, that he would make him find both. "That you will never do, master doctor," answered Latimer; after which he was silenced.

The venerable old man adhered to the resolution which he had stated in his conference with Ridley, and when the time of his disputation came, knowing (says Mr. Addison *) "how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, he left his companions, who were in the full possession of their vigor and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason; while he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die."

* Spectator, No. 463.

In the course of this mock disputation, all the arguments used by Cranmer and Ridley, instead of being fairly canvassed, were overruled by the uproar of tumult or the insolence of authority.

A few days afterward the commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, again sent for the bishops to St. Mary's church ; where, after some vehement exhortations to recant, the prolocutor first excommunicated, and then condemned them. As soon as the sentence was read, Latimer, lifting up his eyes, exclaimed, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end." To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly persuaded I shall never get there."

The three bishops remained close prisoners at Oxford upward of sixteen months, till the Pope's authority and the legatine power were completely restored in England by act of parliament ; for till the sanguinary laws against heretics were revived, they could not, with any shadow of justice, be put to death. A new commission therefore was granted by Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, to White, Bishop of Lincoln, Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, and Hollman, Bishop of Bristol, empowering them to cite Ridley and Latimer before them, in order to receive them into the bosom of the church, if they would renounce their errors ; or to deliver them over as heretics to the secular power, if they continued obstinate.

On the thirtieth of September, 1555, these com-

missioners, assembled in the divinity school, sent for Ridley, who refusing to subscribe to articles nearly the same as those previously tendered, Latimer was next introduced, and strongly urged by the Bishop of Lincoln to acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

Latimer thanked the prelate for his gentle treatment; but at the same time assured him, that it was in vain to expect from him any such acknowledgment. "He did not believe," he said, "that this jurisdiction had been given to the Romish see, nor had the bishops of Rome behaved as if their power were from God." He then cited a popish book, which had recently been written, to show how grossly the papists misrepresented the Scripture; and concluded with saying, that "he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, neither ought they ever to be entrusted with it; their commission, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions." To this the Bishop of Lincoln replied, that "he thought his style not quite so decent as it might be; and as to the book which he had quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this Latimer expressed his surprise, as "it was written by a person of note, his brother commissioner, the Bishop of Gloucester."

That prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and addressing himself to Latimer, paid him some compliments upon his learning; after which he spoke in vindication of his book. But

his zeal carrying him too far, the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said, "We came not hither, my lord, to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles, which shall be proposed to him."

The articles were then read, and Latimer answered every one of them; at the same time protesting, (which protestation he begged might be registered,) that, notwithstanding his answers to the Pope's commissioners, he by no means acknowledged his authority. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation, the Bishop of Lincoln told him, "that as far as he could, he would show lenity to him; that the answers, which he had now given, should not be prejudicial to him, but that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleased; and that he hoped in God, he should find him in a better temper." To this the good old man replied, "That he begged they would do with him then just what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day; for, as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and any respite would be needless." The Bishop however told him, that "he must appear the next morning," and adjourned the assembly.

Accordingly the commissioners being reseated, he was again brought in: and when the tumult was composed, Dr. White stated to him, that "although he might justly have proceeded to judgment against him the day before, yet he could not help postpon-

ing it one day longer; in hopes (said he) sir, that you might reason yourself into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all so much desire, that mercy which our holy church now for the last time offereth to you." "Alas! my lord," answered Latimer, "your indulgence is to no purpose. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully resolved against the church of Rome; and, once for all, my answer is, I will never embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did on a like occasion. He stood before his judges, upon a charge of heresy; and being asked, 'Which were more probably of the church of Christ, he and his party, who were every where despised, or they his judges, who were every where in esteem?' resolutely answered, 'That Christ had decided that point, when he mentioned it as a mark of his disciples, that they should take up their cross and follow him.' If this then, my lords, be one of the characteristics of the christian church, whether shall we denominate by that name the church of Rome, which hath always been a persecutor, or that small body of Christians, which is persecuted by it?" "You mention, sir," said the prelate, "with a bad grace your cause and St. Cyprian's together: they are wholly different." "No, my lord," replied Latimer, "his was the word of God, and so is mine."

Finding his repeated exhortations had no effect, the Bishop at length passed sentence upon him,

Latimer then asked him, "whether there was any appeal from this judgment?" "To whom," said the Bishop, "would you appeal?" "To the next General Council," answered Latimer, "that shall be regularly assembled." "It will be a long time," replied his judge, "before Europe will see such a Council as you mean." He then committed him to the custody of the Mayor, and dissolved the assembly. On the same day, likewise, sentence was passed upon Ridley, and the sixteenth of October, and a spot on the north side of the town, near Balliol College, were appointed for the execution of the brother martyrs.

Thither, on the day prescribed, the Vice-Chancellor and other officers of distinction repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the prisoners were sent for. Ridley, accompanied by the Mayor, first entered the dreadful circle, soon after which Latimer was brought in; the former dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison attire. This difference in their dress, by its affecting contrast, augmented the concern of the spectators; Ridley showing what they had previously been, and Latimer what they were at present.

When they were about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed that they must first hear a sermon; upon which, a Dr. Smith ascended a pulpit prepared for the purpose, and in a discourse on the words, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me

nothing,"* treated both the characters and the tenets of the two venerable victims with savage inhumanity.

The discourse ended, Ridley was beginning to speak in defence of himself, when the Vice-Chancellor ran toward him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he should have leave ; but he should be permitted in nothing farther." Thus checked, the Bishop looking round with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cause then to Almighty God." An officer then stepped up, and acquainted them, "that at their leisure they might now make ready for the stake."

The spectators burst into tears, when they saw these two primitive men preparing for death. Reflecting on their preferments, the places of honor they held in the commonwealth, the favor they stood in with their princes, their great learning and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honor, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be consumed in one moment. Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown which was wrapped about him, appeared in a shroud prepared for the purpose; and whereas before he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold,

* 1 Cor. xiii. 8.

When he and his fellow sufferer were ready, they were both fastened to a stake with an iron chain. They then brought a fagot ready kindled, and laid it at Ridley's feet; to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." After which recommending his soul to God, and the flames speedily reaching him, he quickly expired, apparently without much pain.

But it was not so with Ridley; for by some mismanagement on his side of the stake, the wind blew the flames from the upper part of his body, and his legs were consumed before the fire approached the vital parts. This caused him to endure dreadful torments, till the blaze caught some gunpowder, which had been tied about their waists, and had hastened Latimer's death. The chain then loosening, his body fell at the feet of him, whose animating precepts and noble example had so eminently contributed to enable him to sustain this fiery trial.

"Such," says Gilpin, "was the life of Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester; one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in England. He had a happy temper, formed on the principles of christian philosophy. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him. Such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him. He had a collected spirit,

and on no occasion wanted a resource ; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him. Though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved to the last,—a rare instance of moderation,—his primeval plainness.

In his profession he was indefatigable : and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest ; constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning.

How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly ; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorian dignity ; and awed vice more than the penal laws. He was not esteemed a very learned man ; for he cultivated only useful learning ; and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents, which give superiority in business : but for honesty and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion,

and for every virtue both of a public and private kind, that should adorn the life of a christian, he was eminent and exemplary beyond most men of his own, or of any other time ; well deserving that evangelical commendation, “With the testimony of a good conscience, in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had his conversation in the world.”

From the preceding narrative the reader will have fully inferred the primitive and excellent character of its subject ; his uniform simplicity of manners, his indefatigable professional activity, his cheerfulness and fortitude upon the most trying occasions, and his inflexible adherence to what he deemed his duty. Learning he cultivated, with a view not to its depth, but to its utility. As to his sermons, which are still extant, Gilpin observes, “They are far from being exact pieces of composition. Elegant writing was then little known. Some polite scholars there were, Cheke, Ascham, and a few others, who from an acquaintance with classical learning, of which they were the restorers, began to think in a new manner, and could treat a subject with accuracy at least, if not with elegance. But in general the writers of that age, and especially the churchmen, were equally incorrect in their composition and slovenly in their language. We must not therefore expect, that Latimer’s discourses will stand a critical inquiry. They are, at best, loose, incoherent pieces. Yet his simplicity and low fa-

miliarity, his humor and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence of that day, was exceedingly popular. His manner of preaching, too, was very affecting; and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him is, that noble and apostolic zeal, which he exerts in the cause of truth. And, sure, no one had a higher sense of what became his office; was less influenced by any sinister motive; or durst with more freedom reprove vice, however dignified by worldly distinctions."

Goldsmith, in his History of England, observes:—
"Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts, and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, (a few of which remain to this day) show that he had much learning and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them, which is not to be found elsewhere."

"The discourses of Latimer," says Watkins, "like those of Chrysostom, exhibit a faithful portraiture of the national manners, and though far enough from aiming at the higher qualifications of oratory, they have charms that gave them in the delivery a

fascinating influence, of which even the lapse of near three centuries has not deprived them.

Latimer's sermons were wholly levelled at the prevailing corruptions; and the manners of the English nobility and gentry at that time were of a description that fully called for such an honest monitor, who spared neither high nor low, but laid open the depravity of all ranks, with apostolic zeal and sincerity.

The wit of Latimer is admitted, and he undoubtedly introduced it pretty freely into the pulpit. But every story told by him had a point of instruction, and therefore could not be considered as a mere stroke of humor. His anecdotes were not only admirably suited to the subject, but were well calculated to make an impression upon minds little accustomed to formal reasoning, or to an examination of the Scriptures, with which indeed few at that time were acquainted. The preaching of Latimer was entirely of a practical nature, and few, if any, have exceeded him in dissecting the human heart and laying open its secret springs of evil. This he did with much plainness, pungency, and pathos, that none but those who were lifted up with pride or sunk in depravity ever departed from his sermons without an humbling sense of their infirmity. The effect of his powerful exhortation to restitution was witnessed in the repentance of John Bradford; and that excellent scholar, Sir John Cheke, instead of being offended with what has

been called quaint buffoonery, said to Latimer, "I have an ear for other divines, but I have a heart for you."

As a preacher, Latimer obtained an extraordinary degree of popularity, and he well deserved it, by the use which he made of his talents and influence. He spoke from the heart, and though his eloquence was of the most fervid character, it was totally free from rant and enthusiasm. He never meddled with mystical subjects, nor made use of language unintelligible to ordinary understandings.

His eloquence was perfectly evangelical, and constantly tended to the personal improvement of his hearers; not to excite their wonder and admiration.

If he occasionally intermingled strokes of pleasantry with severe dehortation and grave arguments, it was to expose vice, and shame delinquents, without any respect of persons; and the most caustic of his discourses were those which he delivered in the presence of corrupt judges, rapacious courtiers, and negligent prelates.

To sum up his character in a few words; profession and practice, zeal and holiness, distinguished him through the whole course of his long, active, and well-tried life. For many years did his light shine with undiminished lustre, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, and the termination of his course was, as the setting of the sun, "full of immortality."

The first collection of his sermons was made by one Thomas Soame, who wrote down those that were preached before king Edward the Sixth, which were published in one volume in 1549. In 1562 John Day made a larger collection in one small quarto volume, to which Augustine Bernher, the bishop's faithful Swiss servant, and afterwards a minister, prefixed a long but highly interesting epistle dedicatory to the duchess of Suffolk. This edition has a wood cut of father Latimer preaching in the privy garden before the young king, who is represented with some of his courtiers looking out of a window in front, while the area below is filled with hearers of various descriptions. This print is also given in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, which work also contains the bishop's two famous sermons on the Card. In 1584 another edition of Latimer's *Sermons* came out, with some additions, which was reprinted in 1604; and in 1635 they appeared in a Roman letter, with a portrait of the bishop preaching, engraved by George Giffard. All these editions were in quarto; but in 1758 an octavo one was printed in two volumes, with a memoir of the martyr, and a number of prolix, and for the most part impertinent notes, giving an account of scriptural characters and places mentioned in the text, while the obsolete phrases and peculiar allusions remained unelucidated, and what was still worse, several passages were mutilated under the mistaken notion of giving the sense correctly in a modern dress.

Several of Latimer's letters are preserved in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' and among them his celebrated one to Henry VIII, in 1530, on 'the restoring again of the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.' His injunctions, likewise, to the prior and convent of St. Mary House in Worcester, during his first visitation in 1537, are inserted in the collection of Records at the end of the second volume of Burnet's 'History of the Reformation.'

LATIMER'S SERMONS.

A

NOTABLE SERMON

OF THE REVEREND FATHER
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

Preached in the Shrouds* at Paul's Church in London, on the 18th day of Jan. 1548.

Quaecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.
Rom. xiv. 4.

“All things which are written, are written for our erudition and knowledge.” All things that are written in God’s book, in the Bible book, in the book of the holy Scripture, are written to be our doctrine. I told you in my first sermon,† honorable audience, that I purposed to

* The shrouds or crowds, as we learn from Stow, was a chapel under the choir of St. Paul’s Church, where sermons were preached in the winter, and when the weather would not permit an audience to stand in the church-yard.

† In the edition of 1562, John Day says, “The rest of these sermons of the Plough are not yet come to hand.”

declare unto you two things ; the one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land ; and the other, who should be the sowers.

That is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it. The first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers ; for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel ; "Exivit qui seminat seminare semen suum ;" he that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed. So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place ; "Nemo admotâ aratro manu, et a tergo respiciens, aptus est regno Dei." No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God. (Luke ix.) That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking Scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it ; and have been one of them that have believed and expounded it

against religious persons that would forsake their order which they had professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter; but it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labor and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman. Ye may not be offended with this my similitude, for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, "Oh, Latimer, nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live, nor never trust him, for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron-bag:" where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come afterward, men "Per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur," there should come fellows by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered. But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reproved, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus; as the

saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after savour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed Lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe that she bare. And what had our blessed Lady been the worse for this? Or what dishonor was this to our blessed Lady? But as preachers must be wary and circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed; it is compared also to a piece of leaven; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief; now what dishonor is this to God? Or what derogation is this to heaven? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labor, and a prelate to a ploughman.

But now you will ask me whom I call a prelate? A prelate is that man, whosoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and the ploughman be likened to-

gether. First, for their labor in all seasons of the year ; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do ; as in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometime ridgeth it up again ; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean : so the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it ; and not a swerving faith, but to a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits ; a lively faith, a justifying faith ; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works : as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith. Now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin ; now raising them

up again with the gospel, and with the promises of God's favor. Now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin ; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh ; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in. Now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours ; then exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it, so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire. They have great labors, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock ; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people, is called meat. Scripture calleth it meat, not strawberries,* that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone : but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people

* This expression which Latimer made use of to designate the non-residents of his day, who only visited their cures once a year, became proverbial. A bachelor of divinity, named Oxenbridge, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, Jan. 13, 1566, says, " I will shew you the state and condition of this my mother Oxford ; for a piteous case it is, that now in all Oxford, there is not past five or six preachers, I except strawberry preachers."

must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year ; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, “ *Quis putas est servus prudens et fidelis ? qui dat cibum in tempore.*” Who think ye is a wise and a faithful servant ? he that giveth meat in due time. So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently : therefore saith he, “ Who trow ye is a faithful servant ?” He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, there be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the Visitors can best tell. Too few, too few, the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this then it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of souls, must diligently and substantially work and labor. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, “ *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat,*” He that desireth to have the office of a bishop, or a prelate, that man desireth a good work. Then if it be a good work, it is a work ; ye can make but a work of it. It is God’s work, God’s plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good

prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, and do their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremy, “*Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fradulenter,*” Cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently, guilefully or deceitfully; some books have it “negligenter,” negligently or slackly. How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for thy mercy, are there now in England? And what shall we in this case do? Shall we company with them? O Lord, for thy mercy! shall we not company with them? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them? But “cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully.” A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, “*Muli sunt vocati, pauci vero electi.*” Many are called, but few are chosen. (Matt. xxii.) Here have I an occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you; yea, for the place that I alleged unto you before out of Jeremy, the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God, a work that was commanded to be done, and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. For, saith he, “Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of

blood." As Saul when he kept back the sword from the shedding of blood, at what time he was sent against Amalek, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandment, in that he spared Agag the king. So that, that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London? What shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no, I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, repent, O London; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee, amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties; and

rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said, (and indeed at that time on a just cause,) "Burgesses," quoth he, "nay, Butterflies." Lord, what ado there was for that word ; and yet would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature ; the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy of other men's goods ; is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word ; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods.

But London cannot abide to be rebuked ; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick ; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince ; but yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them ? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favor good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to reform that is amiss : if I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would

then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity ; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger : Was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo ? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I often heard good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London ; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it ; but now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars ? Marry, they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the pope's doctrine : and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labor to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

Oh London, London, repent, repent ; for I

think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then: and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did them of Nebo. Amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office; for right prelating is busy laboring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office, the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation; let your plough therefore be going, and cease not, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now me thinketh I hear one say unto me: Wot you what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labor? How then hath it happened, that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers, and idle ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough, it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to say for themselves, that it is

not for my weak team to plough them. They have to say for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed: for, as the saying is, it lacketh weathering: this gear lacketh weathering, at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What, I had almost said, among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down contrary to the Apostles' times: for they preached and lorded not; and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers: thus crept in unpreaching prelates, and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day? And no marvel; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing: they would leave off their labor, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the commonwealth but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles,

the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside. And by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen in the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary for to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of enclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing ; the one is an enclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday ploughing, the church ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and enclosed through singular commodity. For what man will let go or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth ? And who will sustain any damage for the respect of a public commodity ? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will heark-

en to it. But to hinder and let it, all men's ears are open ; yea, and a great many of this kind of ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen, I fear me, some be rather mock-gospellers, than faithful ploughmen. I know many myself that profess the gospel, and live nothing thereafter. I know them and have been conversant with some of them. I know them, and I speak it with a heavy heart, there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other ; according to that which Christ said in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas indeed they had it not ; "Non quia vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus." Ye follow me, saith he, not because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done ; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me. So that I think, many one now-a-days professeth the gospel for the living sake, not for the love they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen, must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labor for the feeding of the soul ; both the ploughs

must still be going, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonwealth may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs ?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methinks I could guess what might be said for excusing of them : They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with embassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee, munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and some comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty ? Is this their office ? Is this their calling ? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints ? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls ? Is this his charge ? I would here ask one question ; I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint ? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to be deacons,

shall one leave it for minting ? I cannot tell you ; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters, money hath been worse than it was before. And they say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak here to my country, England, as Saint Paul did in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter ; for Paul was no sitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching bishop. But when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still ; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before heathen judges : “ Is there,” saith he, “ utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgment ? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother ; but one brother goeth to law with another, and that under heathen judges ? ‘ Constitute contemptos qui sunt in ecclesiâ, &c.’ Appoint them judges that are most abject and vile in the congregation.” Which he speaketh in rebuking them ; “ For,” saith he “ ad erubescen-tiam vestram dico.” I speak it to your shame. So, England, I speak it to thy shame ; is there never a nobleman to be a lord president,* but it must be a prelate ? Is there never a

* In those days it was as common for clergymen to hold civil offices, as it was for laymen to enjoy ecclesiastical dignities.

wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint ? I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, a page, comptroller of the mint : make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, lord president.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so ; but to your shame, if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in the knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal ? The king hath a great many of wards, and I trow there is a court of wards ; why is there not a school for the wards, as well as there is a court for their lands ? Why are they not set in schools where they may learn ? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age ? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much give themselves to other vanities. And if the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same train. For truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen

be not made lord presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall another day have a flourishing commonweal, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I would wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise enough for the mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they lacked wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were no men of conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and a cure otherwise; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a lord president too. For a presi-

dentship requireth a whole man ; and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, a flock to teach, to look unto ; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man. He should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labor in his own business ; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians ; “ Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling.” Let the priest preach, and the noblemen handle the temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, and a good man. Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man ; we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing Christian commonweal.

And now I would ask a strange question ; Who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, and passeth all the rest in doing his office ? I can tell, for I know him who it is ; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is ? I will tell you : it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other ; he is never out of his diocese ; he is never from

his cure ; ye shall never find him unoccupied ; he is ever in his parish ; he keepeth residence at all times ; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will ; he is ever at home, the diligentest preacher in all the realm ; he is ever at his plough ; no lording nor loitering can hinder him ; he is ever applying his business ; ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough, to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles ; away with bibles and up with beads ; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry,—censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing ; as though man could invent a better way to honor God with, than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing

of stocks and stones : up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honor due to God, and up with the new god's honor. Let all things be done in Latin : there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as "Memento, homo, quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris." Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return : which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-wednesday ; but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English.

Oh that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel ! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and letteth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What, Sir, are ye so privy to the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true ? Truly I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies ; and I know him as other men do, yea that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in following his plough. I know by St. Peter, which saith of him, "Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret." He goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking

whom he may devour. I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it : “Circuit,” he goeth about in every corner of his diocese ; he goeth on visitation daily, he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited ; he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. “Sicut leo,” as a lion, that is, strongly, boldly, and proudly ; stately and fiercely with haughty looks, with his proud countenances, with his stately braggings. “Rugiens,” roaring ; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. “Quærens,” he goeth about seeking, and not sleeping, as our bishops do ; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, whereas he may have his prey. He roveth abroad in every place of his diocese ; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day, and every hour, laboreth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and renown, the institution of the Lord’s supper and Christ’s cross ? For there he lost his right ; for Christ said “Nunc judicium est mundi ; princeps seculi hujus ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltavit Moses serpentem in deserto,

ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero a terrâ, omnia traham ad meipsum." Now is the judgment of this world, and the prince of this world shall be cast out. And as Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lift up. And when I shall be lift up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself. (John iii.) For the devil was disappointed of his purpose ; for he thought all to be his own : and when he had once brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cock-sure.

But there lost he all his reigning : for Christ said, " Omnia traham ad meipsum." I will draw all things to myself. He meaneth, drawing of man's soul to salvation. And that he said he would do " per semetipsum," by his own self ; not by any other body's sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice on the cross, where he offered himself for the redemption of mankind ; and not the sacrifice of the mass to be offered by another. For who can offer him but himself ? He was both the offerer and the offering. And this is the mark at the which the devil shooteth, to evacuate the cross of Christ, and to mingle the institution of the Lord's supper ; the which although he cannot bring to pass, yet he goeth about by his sleights and subtile means to frustrate the same ; and

these fifteen hundred years he hath been a doer, only purposing to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of small efficacy and virtue. For as Christ saith, according as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would he himself be exalted ; that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation ; the devil would none of that. They would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory ; by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Now if I should preach in the country, among the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is ; but here is a learned auditory : yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, for they signify all one thing in effect, and is nothing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil used to evacuate the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as in the daily sacrifice of the priest ; whereas Christ would have us to trust in his only sacrifice. So he was, "Agnus occisus ab origine mundi ;" the lamb that hath been slain from the beginning of the world ; and therefore he is called, "juge sacrificium," a continual sacrifice ; and not for the continuance of the mass, as the blanchers have blanched it, and wrested

it ; and as I myself did once mistake it. But Paul saith, “ Per semetipsum purgatio facta.” By himself, and by none other, Christ made purgation and satisfaction for the whole world.

Would Christ this word, “ by himself,” had been better weighed and looked upon, and “ in sanctificationem,” to make them holy ; for he is “ juge sacrificium,” a continual sacrifice, in effect, fruit and operation ; that like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of Christ’s death, in whom as many as believed were saved ; so all men that trust in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue. As though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world’s end, hang still on the cross ; and he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his death only, and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice ; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, “ Consummatum est.” It is perfectly finished : “ I have taken at my Father’s hand the dispensation of redeem-

ing mankind, I have wrought man's redemption, and have despatched the matter." Why then mingle ye him ? Why do ye divide him ? Why make you of him more sacrifices than one ? Paul saith, " Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus." Christ our passover is offered up ; so that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it " semel," once for all : and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice.

Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead. Wo worth thee, O devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long ; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ their Lord. Wo worth thee, devil, wo worth thee, devil, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him ; then the priests at the mass, at the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs ? The priests draw goods and riches, benefices, and promotions to themselves ; and such as believe in their sacrifices they draw to the devil. But Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice. What have we to do then, but " epulari in Domino," to eat in the Lord at his supper ?

What other service have we to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh ? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours ? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better : Christ hath done that thing so well that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better than he hath done it. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath labored by all means that he might, to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons ; as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads ; for drinking of the bakehouse bowl ; as a canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl. Then to pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not ? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's sanctification ; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mingled Christ's death, and hath been

made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy against spirits and to chase away devils; yea, and I would this had been the worst. I would this were the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross, and to mingle the Lord's supper. These be the Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark, to frustrate the cross of Christ: he shot at this mark long before Christ came, he shot at it four thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brazen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brazen serpent were healed of their bodily diseases, so they that looked spiritually upon Christ that was to come, by him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come, but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to worship the serpent itself, yea to cense him, to honor him, and to offer to him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him. And this was done by the market-men that I told you of. And the clerk of the market did it for the

lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honor might increase ; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even now hath he divers blanchers belonging to the market, to let and stop the light of the gospel, and to hinder the king's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the king's majesty, with the advice of his honorable council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not lack blanchers that will say ; As for images, whereas they have used to be censed, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself ; but it is done to God and his honor before the image. And though they should abuse it, these blanchers will be ready to whisper the king in the ear, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter ; and that the same, with all other like abuses in the church, may be reformed easily. "It is but a little abuse, say they, and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences. The people will not bear sudden alterations ; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be

well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business." These be the blanchers that hitherto have stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom. And I doubt not but there were blanchers in the old time to whisper in the ear of good king Hezekiah, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brazen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, and other like things.

But good king Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, fervent in spirit. He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with these worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people: he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God, but he (without any of these respects or policies, or considerations, like a good king, for God's sake and for conscience sake) by and by plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these blanchers and worldly wise

men, but without delay followeth God's cause, and destroyeth all idolatry out of hand. Thus did good king Hezekiah ; for he was like Apollos, fervent in spirit, and diligent to promote God's glory.

And good hope there is that it shall be likewise here in England ; for the king's majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue, and godliness, that it is not to be mistrusted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the prelates will diligently apply their plough, and be preachers rather than lords. But our blanchers, which will be lords and no laborers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they will say, Why ? I have set a deputy there ; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and the which shall discharge my duty. A deputy, quoth he ; I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be, trow ye ? Even one like himself ; he must be a canonist : that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the pope's laws and decrees ; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself will do ; and one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry ; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist the devil's plough ;

yea, happy it is if he take no part with the devil: and where he should be an enemy to him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time, the prelates take their pleasures. They are lords and no laborers; but the devil is diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching prelate; he is no lordly loiterer from his cure; but a busy ploughman; so that among all the prelates, and among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he still applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil to be diligent in doing of your office; learn of the devil; and if you will not learn of God, nor good men, for shame learn of the devil; “ad erubescientiam vestram dico,” I speak it for your shame. If you will not learn of God, nor good men, to be diligent in your office, learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the king’s majesty, being by the help of good governance of his most honorable counsellors, trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God’s word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein; which thing that it may so be, let us pray for him. Pray for him, good people; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him.

A

MOST FAITHFUL SERMON

PREACHED

Before King Edward the VIth, and his most Honorable Council,
in his Court at Westminster, anno Domini, 1550,

BY THE REVEREND FATHER

MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ.—LUKE xii. 15.

Take heed and beware of covetousness:—
Take heed and beware of covetousness:—
Take heed and beware of covetousness. And what and if I should say nothing else, these three or four hours (for I know it will be so long, in case I be not commanded to the contrary) but these words, “Take heed and beware of covetousness?” It would be thought a strange sermon before a king, to say nothing else but “Cavete ab avaritiâ,” Beware of covetousness. And yet as strange as it is, it would be like the sermon of Jonah, that he

preached to the Ninevites ; as touching the shortness, and as touching the paucity or fewness of the words. For his sermon was, “Adhuc quadraginta dies, et Nineve subvertetur,” There is yet forty days to come, and Nineveh shall be destroyed. Thus he walked from street to street, and from place to place round about the city, and said nothing else but “There is yet forty days, (quoth he,) and Nineveh shall be destroyed.” There is no great odds nor difference, at leastwise in the number of words, nor yet in the sense or meaning between these two sermons, “There is yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed,” and these words that I have taken to speak of this day, “Take heed and beware of covetousness.” For Nineveh should be destroyed for sin, and of their sins covetousness was one, and one of the greatest ; so that it is all one in effect. And as they be like concerning the shortness, the paucity of words, the brevity of words, and also the meaning and purpose ; so I would they might be like in fruit and profit. For what came of Jonah’s sermon ? What was the fruit of it ? “Ad prædicationem Jonæ crediderunt Deo,” At the preaching of Jonah they believed God. Here was a great fruit, a great effect wrought. What is that same, They believed God ? They believed God’s

preacher, God's officer, God's minister, Jonah, and were converted from their sin. They believed that, (as the preacher said,) if they did not repent and amend their life, the city should be destroyed within forty days. This was a great fruit ; for Jonah was but one man, and he preached but one sermon, and it was but a short sermon neither, as touching the number of words ; and yet he turned all the whole city, great and small, rich and poor, king and all.

We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long sermons, yet the people will not repent nor convert. This was the fruit, the effect, and the good that his sermon did, that all the whole city at his preaching converted, and amended their evil living, and did penance in sackcloth. And yet here in this sermon of Jonah is no great curiousness, no great clerkliness, no great affectation of words, nor painted eloquence ; it was none other but, "Adhuc quadraginta dies, et Nineve subvertetur," Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed : it was no more. This was no great curious sermon, but this was a nipping sermon, a pinching sermon, a biting sermon ; it had a full bite, it was a nipping sermon, a rough sermon, and a sharp biting sermon. Do you not here marvel that these Ninevites cast not Jonah in prison, that they did not re-

vile him, and rebuke him ? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him : but God gave them grace to hear him, and to convert and amend at his preaching. A strange matter, so noble a city to give place to one man's sermon ! Now England cannot abide this gear, they cannot be content to hear God's minister, and his threatening for their sin, though the sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. It is, "a naughty fellow, a seditious fellow ; he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm ; he lacketh discretion." But the Ninevites rebuked not Jonah that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his sermon was out of season made. But in England, if God's preacher, God's minister, be any thing quick, or do speak sharply, then he is a foolish fellow, he is rash, he lacketh discretion. Now-a-days if they cannot reprove the doctrine that is preached, then they will reprove the preacher, that he lacketh due consideration of the times, that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion.

" What a time is this, picked out to preach such things ! He should have a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of things, and of the commonweal." It rejoiceth me sometimes, when my friend cometh and telleth me that they find fault with my discretion, for

by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true: for if they could find fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of discretion, but they would charge me with my doctrine, and not with the lack of discretion, or with the inconveniency of the time.

I will now ask you a question; I pray you, when should Jonah have preached against the covetousness of Nineveh, if the covetous men should have appointed him his time? I know that preachers ought to have a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to have a consideration and respect to the place and to the time that he preacheth in; as I myself will say here that I would not say in the country for no good. But what then? Sin must be rebuked, sin must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonah have preached against Nineveh, if he should have forborn for the respect of the times, or the place, or the state of things there? For what was Nineveh? A noble, a rich, and a wealthy city. What is London to Nineveh? Like a village, as Islington, or such another, in comparison of London. Such a city was Nineveh; it was three days' journey to go through every street of it, and to go but from street to street. There were noblemen, rich men, wealthy men, there were vicious men, and covetous men, and men that gave them-

selves to all voluptuous living, and to worldliness of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discreetly taken of Jonah, to come and reprove them of their sin, to declare unto them the threatenings of God, and to tell them of their covetousness, and to say plainly unto them, that except they repented and amended their evil living, they and their city should be destroyed of God's hand within forty days ? And yet they heard Jonah and gave place to his preaching. They heard the threatenings of God, and feared his stroke and vengeance, and believed God, that is, they believed God's preacher and minister, they believed that God would be true of his word that he spake by the mouth of his prophet, and thereupon did penance, to turn away the wrath of God from them.

Well, what shall we say ? I will say this and not spare ; Christ saith, Nineveh shall arise against the Jews at the last day, and bear witness against them ; because that they hearing God's threatening for sin, "Ad prædicationem Jonæ in cinere et sacco egerunt pœnitentiam," They did penance at the preaching of Jonah in ashes and sackcloth, (as the text saith there.) And I say Nineveh shall arise against England, thou England, Nineveh shall arise against England, because it will not believe God, nor

hear his preachers that cry daily unto them, nor amend their lives, and especially their covetousness. Covetousness is as great a sin now as it was then; and it is the same sin now as it was then. And he will as sure strike for sin now, as he did then. But ah, good God, that would give them a time of repentance, after his threatening. First, to see whether they would amend or not, or he would destroy them. For even from the beginning of the world they fell to sin. The first age from Adam, which was about two thousand years, they fell ever to sin, and they had preachers, Noah, and Enoch, and other holy fathers. And in that time a great multiplication was that grew in two thousand years; for that Scripture saith, “The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took wives from among all that they had chosen.” This is a long matter to speak of all. But what meaneth this, The sons of God saw the daughters of men? Who were these sons of God?

The sons of God were those that came of the good men, of the good preachers, of the holy fathers, that were God’s men; as they that came of Seth and Enoch, that were good men, and of others. For our grandmother Eve, when Cain had killed Abel, and when she had another son by Adam, who was called Seth,

what did she ? She gave thanks to God for him, and acknowledged that God it was which had given him unto her ; for she said, “ Dedit mihi Deus semen pro Abel quem occidit Cain.” God (said she) hath given me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew.”

Here is a long matter to talk on. Some will say, Was this a natural mother, was this naturally done, to publish the sin of her own son ? What needed she to speak of that matter, or to make any rehearsal of that matter, to open the sin of her son ? What needed she this to do ? Yes, she was now a good woman ; when she believed the serpent, she was not good. But now she had repented that deed, and had taken hold of the promise of God, that there should come of her a seed, that should tread down and destroy the head of the serpent. She had now taken hold of this promise, and was a good woman, and a godly woman ; she opened the fault of her son, and hid it not. Here could I say somewhat to them, if I would, that spake so much against me for my preaching here the last year. But to return to Eve, and declare that by the sons of God are to be understood those that came of good men, as of Seth and Enoch, and the same good part of generation.

And the daughters of men are to be understood of them that came of Cain and of his seed ;

and therefore our grandmother Eve bade beware of marrying with Cain's seed, for fear of falling from God to wickedness thereby.

And here I would say a thing to your majesty. I shall speak it of good will to your highness; I would I were able to do your Grace good service in any thing, ye should be sure to have it. But I will say this, for God's love beware where you marry; choose you a wife in a faithful stock. Beware of this worldly policy; marry in God; marry not for the great respect of alliance, for thereof cometh all these evils of breaking of wedlock, which is among princes and noblemen. And here I would be a suitor unto your majesty, for I come now rather to be a suitor and petitioner, than a preacher; for I come now to take my leave, and to take my "ultimum vale," at leastwise in this place; for I have not long to live, so that I think I shall never come here into this place again; and therefore I will ask a petition of your highness. For the love of God, take an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they may join land to land, and possessions to possessions, they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much adultery, and so much breach of wedlock in the noblemen, and

gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and take a new, and will marry again at his pleasure ; and there be many that have so done. I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not then be so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is. For the love of God take heed to it, and see a remedy provided for it. I would wish that adultery should be punished with death ; and that the woman being an offender, if her husband would be a suitor for her, she should be pardoned for the first time, but not for the second time : and the man being an offender, should be pardoned if his wife be a suitor for him the first time, but not for the second time, if he offend twice.

If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but

a laughing matter, but a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter ; for lechery is a great sin : Sodom and Gomorrah was destroyed for it. And it was one of the sins reigning in Nineveh, for which it should have been destroyed. But think you that lechery was alone ? No, no, covetousness was joined with it. Covetousness followeth lechery, and commonly they go together. For why ? They that be given to voluptuousness, and to the vice of lechery, must have wherewith to maintain it, and that must be gotten by covetousness. For at the first when men fell to sin, and chiefly to lechery, wherefore the world should be destroyed, the book saith, “There were giants in the earth in those days : and after that the sons of God had come to the daughters of men, and there had engendered with them, the same became mighty men of the world, and men of renown,” &c. This is covetousness ; for the book saith, “Terra erat repleta iniquitate,” The earth was replete with iniquity, for they oppressed the poor. They made them slaves, peasants, villains, and bondmen unto them. These were giants, so called of the property of giants, for they oppress the weak, and take from them what they list by force, violence and oppression. They were giants of the property of giants, not that they were greater men of

stature and strength of body than other men were. For certain writers speaking of this matter, say, that they were giants for their cruelty and covetous oppression, and not in stature or procerity of body. For there is no reason why Seth's children could beget on Cain's daughters greater men than others were in stature of body. But they were giants in the property of giants, for oppressing of others by force and violence. And this was covetousness, wherewith God was so displeased, that he repented that he had made man, and resolved utterly to destroy the world ; and so called to Noah, and told him of it. "And I will not dispute the matter with them, saith God, from day to day, and never the near; but if they will not amend within an hundred and twenty years, I shall bring in a universal flood over their ears, and destroy them all." This was preached by Noah to them ; and so that God of his goodness, patience, and long-sufferance, gave them a time to repent and amend after his threatenings, because they should see their evil doings, and return to God. So they had an hundred and twenty years to repent. This Noah was laughed to scorn ; they, like dodipoles, laughed this godly father to scorn.

Well, ye think little of the history ; if ye will know the meaning of it, it is a great show what

anger God hath to sin. But how long time hast thou, England, thou England? I cannot tell, for God hath not revealed it unto me. If he had, so God help me, I would tell you of it. I would not be afraid, nor spare to tell it you, for the good-will I bear you; but I cannot tell how long time ye have, for God hath not opened it unto me. But I can tell you, that this lenity, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, provoketh us to repent and amend. And I can tell, that whosoever contemneth this riches and treasure of God's goodness, of his mercy, his patience and long-suffering, shall have the more grievous condemnation. This I can tell well enough; Paul telleth me this; and I can tell that ye have time to repent as long as you live here in this world, but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time to repent. Therefore repent and amend while ye be here, for when ye are gone hence, ye are past that. But how long that shall be, whether to-morrow or the next day, or twenty years, or how long, I cannot tell. But in the mean time ye have many Jonahs to tell you of your faults, and to declare unto you God's threatenings, except ye repent and amend.

Therefore, to return to my matter, I say as I said at the beginning, “*Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ:*” “videte,” see it; first see it, and then

amend it. For I promise you great complaint there is of it, and much crying out, and much preaching, but no amendment that I see. But "Cavete ab avaritiâ," Beware of covetousness. And why of covetousness? "Quia radix est omnium malorum avaritia et cupiditas," For covetousness is the root of all evil, and of all mischief. This saying of Paul took me away from the gospel that is read in the church this day, and it took me from the epistle, that I would preach upon neither of them both at this time. I cannot tell what ailed me; but to tell you my imperfection, when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of a sickness, whereof I looked to have died, and weak I was. Yet, nevertheless, when I was appointed unto it, I took it upon me; howbeit I repented afterward that I had so done. I was displeased with myself; I was testy, as Jonah was, when he should go preach to the Ninevites. Well, I looked on the gospel that is read this day, but it liked me not; I looked on the epistle; tush, I could not away with that neither. And yet I remember I had preached upon this epistle once afore king Henry the Eighth; but now I could not frame with it, nor it liked me not in no sauce. Well, this saying of Paul came in my mind, and at last I considered and

weighed the matter deeply, and then thought I thus with myself; Is covetousness the root of all mischief and of all evil? then have at the root, and down with all covetousness. So this place of Paul brought me to this text of Luke, "See and beware of covetousness." Therefore, you preachers, out with your swords, and strike at the root; speak against covetousness, and cry out upon it. Stand not tickling and toying at the branches, nor at the boughs, for then there will new boughs and branches spring again of them, but strike at the root, and fear not these giants of England, these great men and men of power, these men that are oppressors of the poor; fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. For covetousness is the cause of rebellion. I have forgotten my logic, but yet I can jumble at a syllogism, and make an argument of it, to prove it by. Covetousness is the root of all evil: rebellion is an evil: ergo covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it was indeed. Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer, and both parties had covetousness, as well the gentlemen as the commons. Both parties had covetousness, for both parties had an inordinate desire to have that they had not, and that is covetousness,

an inordinate desire to have that, one hath not.*

The commons would have had from the gentlemen such things as they desired. The gentlemen would none of it, and so was there covetousness on both sides. The commons thought they had a right to the things that they inordinately sought to have. But what then? they must not come to it that way. Now on the other side, the gentlemen had a desire to keep that they had, and so they rebelled too against

* In the summer of 1549, there was a very serious insurrection in many parts of England, but chiefly in Norfolk and Devonshire, occasioned by the conduct of the nobility and gentry, who, being willing to make the most of the abbey lands, enclosed a great deal of the waste ground. This, though a real improvement of the country, produced loud complaints, chiefly among the poor, who lost the benefit of pasturage. To quiet the public mind, commissioners were despatched into the country to examine the grievances; with instructions to throw open the enclosures, and put things in their former style. These orders, however, were not faithfully executed, and the consequence was, that the disaffection increased till it broke out into open rebellion. The Cornish and Devonshire rebels laid siege to Exeter, but were at last defeated and dispersed. The Norfolk rebels, headed by Ket, a farmer, made themselves masters of Norwich, and began to dictate terms to the government, till the earl of Warwick gave them battle, routed them, and executed Ket with his principal adherents.—*Stowe's Annals.*—*Holinshed's Chronicles.*

the king's commandment, and against such good order as he and his council would have set in the realm. And thus both parties had covetousness, and both parties did rebel. I heard say, that there were godly ordinances devised for the redress of it. But the giants would none of it in no sauce. I remember mine ownself a certain giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters; and when the townsmen should bring in what had been enclosed, he frowned and chafed, and so near looked and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right.

I read of late in an act of parliament: and this act made mention of an act that was made in king Henry's days, (the third I trow it was; yea, and such another business there was in king Edward's time, the second also.) In this parliament that I speak of, the gentlemen and the commons were at variance, as they were now of late. And there the gentlemen that were landlords, would needs have away much lands from their tenants; and would needs have an act of parliament, that it might be lawful for them to enclose and make several from their tenants, and from the commons, such portions of their lands as they thought good. Much ado there was about this act; at last it was concluded and granted that they

might so do ; provided alway, that they should leave sufficient to the tenant. Well, it was well that they should leave sufficient for them. But who should be the judge to limit what was sufficient for them ? Or who shall now judge what is sufficient ? Well, I for my part cannot tell what is sufficient. But methought it was well that the tenants and poor commons should have sufficient. For if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within myself : if at that time it were put in their will and power that they might enclose, leaving to the tenant that were sufficient for him ; if they had it then in their power, thought I, that they might this do, they would leave no more than sufficient. If they left to the tenants and poor commons no more in those days but sufficient ; then if they had any more taken from them since that time, then had they now not sufficient.

They in Christ are equal with you. Peers of the realm must needs be. The poorest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them therefore have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A ploughland must have sheep, yea, they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn ; for if they have no sheep

to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make their veneries* or bacon of; their bacon is their venison (for they shall now have “hangum tuum,” if they get any other venison;) so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets, and kine for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon, and pay their rents.

These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them. And pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in, and enclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore, for God’s love, restore their sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But “see and beware of covetousness,” for covetousness is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if covetousness be the cause of rebellion, then preaching against covetousness is not the cause of rebellion. Some say, that the preaching now-a-days is the cause of all sedition and rebellion; for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much

* “Veneries,” from “Venerie,” the old French word for game. The good bishop appears to have been no friend to the game laws.

sedition ; and therefore it must needs be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England. Forsooth, our preaching is the cause of rebellion, much like as Christ was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. For saith Christ, “*Si non venisses et locutus fuissem eis, peccatum non haberent,*” &c. If I had not come, (saith Christ) and spoken to them, they should have no sin. So we preachers have come and spoken to you, we have drawn our swords of God’s word, and stricken at the roots of all evil to have them cut down ; and if ye will not amend, what can we do more ? And preaching is the cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israel ; for he was a preacher there, and told the people of all degrees their faults ; and so they winced and kicked at him, and accused him to Ahab the king, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublous preacher, and made much uproar in the realm. So the king sent for him, and he was brought to Ahab the king, who said unto him, “Art thou he that troubleth all Israel ?” And Elias answered, and said, “Nay, thou and thy father’s house are they that trouble all Israel.” Elias had preached God’s word ; he had plainly told the people of their evil doings ; he had shewed them God’s threatenings ; (in God’s behalf I speak, there

is neither king, nor emperor, be they never in so great estate, but they are subject to God's word,) and therefore he was not afraid to say to Ahab, “It is thou and thy father's house, that causeth all the trouble in Israel.” Was not this presumptuously spoken to a king? Was not this a seditious fellow? Was not this fellow's preaching a cause of all the trouble in Israel? Was he not worthy to be cast in Bocardo* or little ease? No, but he had used God's sword, which is his word, and done nothing else that was evil: but they could not abide it. He never disobeyed Ahab's sword, which was the regal power; but Ahab disobeyed his sword, which was the word of God. And therefore, by the punishment of God, much trouble arose in the realm for the sins of Ahab and the people. But God's preacher, God's prophet, was not the cause of the trouble.

Then it is not we preachers that trouble England. But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; “ergo,” preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument!

* The Bocardo was a dismal prison over the north gate of the city of Oxford. It was taken down in 1771.

Here now I remember an argument of Master More's,* which he bringeth in a book that he made against Bilney: and here by the way I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter; for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Master More called this old aged man unto him, and said, Father, (said he,) tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the

* Sir Thomas More, who was made lord chancellor by king Henry VIII., in the year 1529; he resigned the seals in 1532, and was beheaded in the year 1535, because he would not take the oath for acknowledging the king to be the head of the English church, and abolishing the supremacy of the pope.

sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no ships can arrive here ? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most to it, or at leastwise more than any other man here assembled. Yea, forsooth, good master, quoth this old man, for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto mine age. Well then, quoth Master More, how say you in this matter ? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven ? Forsooth, Sir, quoth he, I am an old man ; I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, Sir, quoth he, and I may remember the building of Tenterton steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven ; and therefore I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven.—And even so, to my purpose, is preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton steeple was cause that Sandwich haven is decayed.

And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men, that will thus

reason against the preachers of God's word ? But here I would take an occasion, by the way of a digression, to speak somewhat to my sisters, the women, to do them some good too ; because I would do all folks good if I could, before I take my "ultimum vale," at leastwise here of this place, for I think I shall no more come here ; for I think I have not long to live ; so that I judge I take my leave now of the court for ever, and shall no more come in this place.

Ahab was a king, but Jezabel, Jezabel, she was the perilous woman. She would rule her husband the king ; she would bear a stroke in all things, and she would order matters as pleased her : and so will many women do, they will rule their husbands, and do all things after their own minds. They do therein against the order by God appointed them ; they break their injunction that God gave unto them. Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean men's wives ; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no. But they break their injunction, and do therein contrary to God's ordinance. God saith, "Subdita eris sub potestate viri," Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband. Thou shalt be subject ; women are subjects ; ye be subjects to your husbands.

At the first, the man and the woman were equal. But after that she had given credit to the serpent, then she had an injunction set upon her: “Subdita eris sub potestate viri,” Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband. And as for one part of her injunction, she taketh; and she taketh one part of her penance, because she cannot avoid it; and that is, “In dolore paries,” Thou shalt bring forth children with pain and travail. This part of their injunction they take; and yet is the same so grievous, that Chrysostom saith, if it were not for the ordinance of God, which cannot be made frustrate by man, they would never come to it again for no worldly good. But God hath provided herein. And as Christ saith in the gospel, “Mulier, cum parit, tristitiam habet,” &c., The woman when she beareth a child hath sorrow; but afterward she remembereth not the pain, because there is a soul brought forth into the world.

But as it is a part of your penance, ye women, to travail in bearing your children; so it is a part of your penance to be subjects unto your husbands; ye are underlings, underlings, and must be obedient. But this is now made a triflē and a small matter; and yet, it is a sad matter, a godly matter, a ghostly matter, a matter of damnation and salvation. And Paul saith, that

"a woman ought to have a power on her head." What is this, to have a power on her head? It is a manner of speaking of the Scripture; and to have her power on her head, is to have a sign and token of power, which is by covering of her head, declaring that she hath a superior above her, by whom she ought to be ruled and ordered: for she is not immediately under God, but mediately. For by their injunction the husband is their head under God, and they subjects unto their husbands. But this power that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will call and say, Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet, or my cap, and so forth. I would wish that the women would call the covering of their heads by the terms of the Scripture. As when she would have her cap, I would she would say, Give me my power. I would they would learn to speak as the Holy Ghost speaketh, and call it by such a name as St. Paul doth. I would they would, (as they have much pranking,) when they put on their cap, I would they would have this meditation, I am now putting on my power upon my head. If they had this thought in their minds, they would not make so

much pranking up of themselves as they do now-a-days. But now here is a vengeance devil; we must have our power from Turkey, of velvet, and gay it must be, far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign. I had rather have a true English sign, than a false sign from Turkey. It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads, as it should do. For if they would keep it under the power as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks* nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair nor braiding to have it open. I would marvel of it, how it should come to be so abused, and so far out of order; saving that I know by experience, that many will not be ruled by their husbands, as they ought to be. I have been desired to exhort some, and with some I could do little in that matter.

But there be now many Adams that will not displease their wives, but will in this behalf let them have all their own minds, and do as them listeth. And some others again there be now-a-days that will defend it, and say it may be suffered well enough, because it is not express-

*An old word for a braided lock of hair. Such locks the ladies of those times wore finely adorned; some hanging down before, and others behind, of various lengths.

ed in Scripture, nor spoken of by name. Though we have not express mention in Scripture against such laying of the hair in tussocks and tufts, yet we have in Scripture express mention “*De tortis crinibus,*” of wreathen hair, that is, for the nonce forced to curl. But of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in Scriptures, because they were not used in Scripture time. They were not yet come to be so far out of order, as to lay out such tussocks and tufts. But I will tell thee, if thou wilt needs lay it out, or if thou wilt needs shew thy hair, and have it seen, go and poll thy head, or round it, as men do ; for to what purpose is it to pull it out so, and to lay it out ? Some do it, say they, of a simplicity ; some do it of a pride ; and some of other causes. But they do it because they will be quarter-master with their husbands. Quarter-masters ? Nay, half-masters : yea, some of them will be whole masters, and rule the roast as they list themselves.

But these defenders of it will not have it evil, because it is not spoken of in Scripture. But there be other things as evil as this, which are not spoken of in Scripture expressly, but they are implied in Scripture, as well as though they were expressly spoken of. For the prophet Isaiah saith, “*Væ qui consurgitis mane ad com-*

essandum, ad ebrietatem sectandam, et potando usque ad vesperum, ut vino aestuetis." Wo unto you that arise early in the morning, and go to drinking until night, that ye may swim in wine.

This is the Scripture against banqueting and drunkenness. But now they banquet all night, and lie a-bed in the day-time till noon, and the Scripture speaketh nothing of that. But what then? The devil hath his purpose this way, as well as the other; he hath his purpose as well by revelling and keeping ill-rule all night, as by rising early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the devil hath his purpose both ways. Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep: for God's sake hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you that ye lie a-bed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal. They are kept sometimes without your gates, or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, "Sir, ye cannot speak with my lord yet, my lord is asleep, or he hath had business of the king's all night," &c. And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three

or four days, yea, a whole month : what shall I say more ? yea, a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it, speak with poor men when they come to your houses, and despatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do, and would Christ that all noblemen would so do. But some do.

I went one day myself betime in the morning to a great man's house to speak with him, in business that I had of mine own. And me thought I was up betimes ; but when I came thither the great man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, ere I came. Well yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well : this man doth somewhat regard and consider his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey, and my early rising too : and yet I was glad that I had been so beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men to speak with them, and to despatch suitors that resort unto you.—But all these I bring to disprove them that defend evil things, because they be not expressly spoken against in the Scripture. But what forceth that, when the devil hath his purpose, and is served as well one way, as another way ? Though it be not expressly spoken against in Scripture, yet

I reckon it plainly enough implied in the Scripture.

But now to come to my matter again : “ *Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ,*” See and beware of covetousness. And I shall desire you to consider four things : “ *Quis dicat, quid dicat, cui dicat, et quare dicat,*” Who speaketh it, what he speaketh, to whom he speaketh, and wherefore he speaketh it. As here, Christ speaketh to a rich man against avarice. And why against avarice ? What shall be the end of all covetous persons ? Eternal damnation. For the covetous persons, (saith Paul,) shall not possess, nor enter into the kingdom of God. Here therefore I desire you to pray, &c.*

* It was the custom of preachers in popish times, in some part of their sermon “ to bid the beads,” or to call upon the auditors to say an Ave-Maria, or a Pater-noster, for a blessing upon all ranks and orders of men.

THE
SECOND SERMON
PREACHED

BEFORE KING EDWARD, IN THE AFTERNOON
OF THE SAME DAY.

Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ.—LUKE xii. 15.

First, who spake these words ? Forsooth, Christ spake them. If I had spoken them of myself, it had been little worth. But Christ spake them, and upon a good occasion. The story is, “Duo litigabant inter se,” There were two at strife between themselves, (Luke xii.) and by this it appeareth that Christ spake them. Well, Christ spake these words at that time ; and now he speaketh them by his preacher, whom ye ought to believe : and so it is all one. But upon what occasion did he speak it ? There were two brethren at strife together for lands, wealthy men, as it appeareth, and the rich fellow would not tarry till Christ had end-

ed his sermon, but interrupted it, and would needs have his matter despatched by and by. He was at Christ's sermon, but yet he would not defer his worldly cause till Christ had made an end of his godly exhortation. This was a thorny brother, he was a gospeller, he was a carnal gospeller (as many be now-a-days for a piece of an abbey, or for a portion of chantry lands,) to get somewhat by it, and to serve his commodity. He was a gospeller, one of the new brethren, somewhat worse than a rank papist. Howbeit, a rank papist now-a-days shall sooner have promotion than a true gospeller shall have; the more is the pity. But this was a thorny gospeller, he heard Christ's preaching, and followed him for company, and heard his words; but he was never the better for it; but the care of the world so choked the word of God in him, that he could not hear the sermon to the end, but interrupted the sermon for his worldly matter ere it were all done.

And what was Christ then doing? Forsooth, he was sowing of good seed; but it fell upon stony ground, so that it could not take any root in this fellow, to bring forth good fruit in him. And let me tell you of the seed that Christ was then sowing; bear with me a while, and seeing that I come now to take my "ultimum vale" of this place, hear me patiently, and give me

leave a little while, and let me take my leave honestly.

At the time when this fellow interrupted Christ's sermon, he was preaching a long sermon to his disciples, and to the people, being gathered together in a wonderful great multitude, as appeareth in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. And there he first of all taught his disciples a good lesson, saying, "Cavete vobis a fermento Pharisæorum :" Beware in any wise (saith he) of the leaven of the Pharisees. What is this leaven of the Pharisees ? Leaven is sometimes taken for corrupt living, which infecteth others by the evil example thereof, and against such corrupt living, God's preachers must cry out earnestly, and never cease till it be rooted up.—In the city of Corinth one had married his step-mother, his father's wife ; and he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, an alderman of the city ; and therefore they winked at it, they would not meddle in the matter, they had nothing to do with it ; and he was one of the head men, of such rule and authority, that they durst not, many of them.

But St. Paul hearing of the matter, writ unto them, and in God's behalf charged them to do away such abomination from among them. St. Paul would not leave them till they had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abomi-

nation. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much ado in England.

Ye that are magistrates show favor for affection to such, and will not suffer [that they may be rooted out or put to shame. "Oh, he is such a man's servant, we may not do him any shame. Oh, he is a gentleman," &c. And so the thing is not now any thing looked unto. Lechery is used throughout England, and such lechery as is used in none other place of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, and a trifle not to be passed on, nor to be reformed.

But beware, ye that are magistrates, their sin doth leaven you all. Therefore for God's love beware of this leaven. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I look not to live long, and yet I trust, as old as I am, to live so long as to see lechery punished. I would wish that Moses's law were restored for punishment of lechery, and that the offenders therein might be punished according to the prescription of Moses's law. And here I will make a suit to your Highness to restore unto the church the discipline of Christ, in excommunicating such as be notable offenders; nor never devise any other way. For no man is able to devise any better way than God hath done,—with ex

communication to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Therefore restore Christ's discipline for excommunication ; and that shall be a means both to pacify God's wrath and indignation against us, and also that less abomination shall be used than in times past hath been, and is at this day. I speak this of a conscience, and I mean and move it of a good will to your grace and your realm.

Bring into the Church of England open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal. Sometimes leaven is taken for corrupt doctrine : and so it is here taken in this place, when he saith, " Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." For Christ intended to make his disciples teachers of all the world, and therefore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that that he said to them, he saith also to us ; Receive no corrupt doctrine, no mingle-mangle. Yet there be leaveners still, and mingle-manglers that have soured Christ's doctrine with the leaven of the Pharisees. Yea, and where there is any piece of leaven, they will maintain that one piece, more than all the doctrine of Christ ; and about that purpose they occupy and bestow all their wits. This was the first seed.

The second seed was, " Nihil occultum, quod

non revelabitur," There is nothing privy or hidden that shall not be revealed and opened. It pertaineth all to one purpose ; for there he taught his disciples to beware of the leaven, which was hypocrisy ; declaring unto them, that hypocrisy would not be always hidden, but such as were not sincere should be known at the last day, and all that was taught should at length be known. It hath also another meaning, for it is God's proverb : "There is nothing so privy but it shall be opened," at leastwise in the great day of reckoning, in the dreadful day of general account, in the day of revelation ; then shall it be openly known whatsoever is done, be it never so privily done.

These fellows that have their fetches and their far compasses to bring things to their purposes, work they never so privily, never so covertly, yet at the last day, their doings shall be openly revealed, "usque ad satietatem visionis," saith the prophet Isaiah, till all the world shall see it, to their shame and confusion that are the doers of it. As the prophet Jeremy saith, "Sicut confunditur fur qui deprehenditur," Even as a thief that is taken with the manner that he stealeth, so shall sinners be openly confounded, and their evil doings opened." Yea, and though it be not known in this world, yet it shall be known at the last day

to their damnation. Indeed God hath verified his proverb from time to time, "Nothing is so privy the which shall not be revealed."

When Cain had killed his brother Abel, he thought he had conveyed the matter so privily and so closely that it should never have been known nor have come to light. But first, God knew it well enough, and called unto him saying, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?"—Tut, he thought he could have beguiled God too; and therefore he answered, "I cannot tell; What, quoth Cain, am I set to keep my brother? I cannot tell where he is." But at last he was confounded, and his murder brought to light; and now all the world readeth it in the Bible.—Joseph's brethren had sold him away, they took his motley coat and besprinkled it over and over with blood, they thought all was cock-sure, they had conveyed the matter so secretly, that they thought all the world could never have espied it. And yet out it came to their great benefit. And now it is known to us all as many as can read the Bible.

David saw a fair woman wash her naked.—Then he was straightway ravished, he was clean gone by, and would needs have her. He sent for her, yea he had gentlemen of his chamber about him that went for her by and by to fetch her.

And here I have another suit to your Highness. When ye come to age, beware what persons ye have about you: for if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantons, ye shall have ministers enough to be furtherers and instruments of it. But David, by his wisdom and policy, thought so to have cloaked the matter, that it should never have been known. He sent for her husband Uriah, and shewed him a fair countenance, and looked merrily on him, and sent him forth to war, that he might do his pleasure with Bathsheba afterward; and he thought he had wrought wondrous privily. He thought all the matter cock-sure. But the prophet of God, Nathan, came and laid his fault plain before his face; and who is now that knoweth it not?—Elisha's servant, Gehazi, a bribing brother, he came colorably to Naaman the Syrian: he feigned a tale of his master Elisha, as all bribers will do, and told him that his master had need of this and that, and took of Naaman certain things, and bribed it away to his own behoof secretly, and thought that it should never have come out: but Elisha knew it well enough. The servant had his bribes that he sought, yet was he stricken with the leprosy, and so openly shamed.

Think on this, ye that are bribers, when ye go so secretly about such things; have this in

your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches and conveyances, how Elisha's servant was served, and was openly known. For God's proverb will be true, "There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed."

He that took the silver basin and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out. But he may now know that I know it ; and I know it not alone ; there be more beside me that know it. Oh briber and bribery ! he was never a good man that will so take bribes. Nor can I ever believe that he that is a briber shall be a good justice. It will never be merry in England, till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing where men do their things uprightly ; as for men that are officers, and have a matter of charge in their hands ?

But now I will play St. Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the king's officer for a while. I have to lay out for the king twenty thousand pounds, or a great sum, whatsoever it be. Well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted ? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given ? yea, one groat, for

warranting of my bills ? Smell ye nothing in this ? What needeth any bribes-giving, except the bills be false ? No man giveth bribes for warranting of his bills, except they be false bills.

Well, such practice hath been in England. But beware ; it will be out one day. Beware of God's proverb, " There is nothing hidden that shall not be opened ;" yea, even in this world, if ye be not the children of damnation. And here now I speak to you, my masters, minters, augmentationers,* receivers, surveyors, and auditors ; I make a petition unto you. I beseech you all be good to the king ; he hath been good to you, therefore be good to him : yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray you so build, that the king's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they can get no money. The poor laborers, gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, sol-

* Certain officers belonging to a court set up by Henry the Eighth, for the increase of his revenues by the suppression of monasteries and religious houses. It was called the Augmentation Court. It was dissolved by Queen Mary.

diers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid some of them three or four months ; yea, some of them half a year : yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and, as the prophet saith, “*Clamor operariorum ascen-
dit ad aures meas,*” The cry of the workmen is come up to mine ears. Oh, for God’s love, let the workmen be paid, if there be money enough ; or else there will whole showers of God’s vengeance rain down upon your heads. Therefore, ye minters, and ye augmentationers, serve the king truly. So build and purchase that the king may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth evil-favoredly, that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously, and the king lack to pay his poor laborers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be some good officers. But I will not swear for all.

I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached restitution. “*Restitution !* quoth some, what should he preach of restitu-
tion ? Let him preach of contrition, quoth they, and let restitution alone ; we can never make restitution.” Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either restitution, or else endless damnation. But now there be

two manner of restitutions, secret restitution, and open restitution ; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one good man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution : and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent ; but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the king's council. So I was asked, what he was that thus made restitution ? But should I have named him ? Nay, they should as soon have this weasand of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds, ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the king's council. And so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so, quoth I to a certain nobleman that is one of the king's council, if every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the king twenty thousand pounds, I think, quoth I. Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a whole hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack ; make restitution for God's sake, make restitution ; ye

will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy but restitution, open or secret, or else hell.

This that I have now told you of, was a secret restitution. Some examples hath been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherington, an honest gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confessed that he had deceived the king, and he made open restitution. Oh what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation. God brought this out to his amendment. It is a token that he is a chosen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he shall be brought to it; therefore for God's sake make restitution, or else remember God's proverb, "There is nothing so secret that it shall not be revealed." If you do either of these two in this world, then are ye of God; if not, then for lack of restitution, ye shall have eternal damnation. Ye may do it by means, if you dare not do it yourselves; bring it to another, and so make restitution. If ye be not of God's flock, it shall be brought out to your shame, and damnation at the last day, when all evil men's sins shall be laid open before us. Yet there is one way, how all our

sins may be hidden, which is repent and amend. “Resipiscentia, resipiscentia,” repenting and amending is a sure remedy, and a sure way to hide all, that it shall not come out to our shame and confusion.

Yet there was another seed that Christ was sowing in that sermon of his; and this was the seed; “I say to you, my friends, fear not him that killeth the body, but fear him that, after he hath killed, hath power also to cast into hell-fire,” &c. And there to put his disciples in comfort and sure hope of his help, and out of all doubt and mistrust of his assistance, he bringeth in unto them the example of the sparrows, how they are fed by God’s mere providence and goodness; and also of the hairs of our heads, how that not so much as one hair falleth from our heads without him. “Fear him, saith he, that, when he hath killed the body, may also cast into hell-fire.” Matter for all kinds of people here, but especially for kings.

And therefore here is another suit to your Highness. “Fear not him that killeth the body.” Fear not these foreign princes and foreign powers. God shall make you strong enough. Stick to God; fear God, fear not them. God hath sent you many storms in your youth, but forsake not God, and he will not

forsake you. Peradventure ye shall have that shall move you, and say unto you, "Oh, Sir, Oh such a one is a great man, he is a mighty prince, a king of great power, ye cannot be without his friendship, agree with him in religion, or else ye shall have him your enemy," &c. Well, fear them not, but cleave to God, and he shall defend you. Do not as king Ahaz did, that was afraid of the Assyrian king, and for fear lest he should have him to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in religion, and worshiping of God: and anon sent to Urijah the high priest, who was ready at once to set up the idolatry of the Assyrian king. Do not your Highness so, fear not the best of them all; but fear God. The same Urijah was "Capellanus ad manum," A chaplain at hand, an elbow chaplain. If ye will turn, ye shall have that will turn with you, yea even in their white rochets. But follow not Ahaz. Remember the hair, how it falleth not without God's providence. Remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them. "And ye are much more precious to me, saith Christ, than sparrows or other birds." God will defend you, that before your time cometh, ye shall not die nor miscarry.

On a time when Christ was going to Jeru-

salem, his disciples said unto him, “They there would have stoned thee, and wilt thou now go hither again?” “What! (saith he again to them,) Nonne duodecim sunt horæ in die,” &c., Be there not twelve hours in the day? (saith he.) God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him, and before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Therefore stick to God, and forsake him not, but fear him, and fear not men. And beware chiefly of two affections, fear and love. Fear, as Ahaz, of whom I have told you, that for fear of the Assyrian king he changed his religion, and thereby purchased God’s high indignation to him and to his realm. And love, as Dinah, Jacob’s daughter, who caused a change of religion, by Shechem and Hamor, who were contented for lust of a wife to the destruction and spoiling of all the whole city.

Read the chronicles of England and France, and ye shall see what changes of religion hath come by marriages, and for marriages. “Marry my daughter, and be baptized, and so forth, or else,” &c. Fear them not. Remember the sparrows. And this rule should all estates and degrees of men follow; whereas now they fear men and not God. If there be a judgment between a great man and a poor man, then

must there be a corruption of justice for fear. “ Oh, he is a great man, I dare not displease him,” &c. Fie upon thee! Art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never so great a man, but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure, they are afraid of the plague, they dare not come nigh any sick body, but hire others, and they go away themselves. Out upon thee! The wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them, and when they have most need of thee, thou runnest away from them. The soldier also that should go on warfare, he will draw back as much as he can. “ Oh I shall be slain! Oh such and such went, and never came home again. Such men went the last year into Norfolk, and were slain there.” Thus they are afraid to go; they will labor to tarry at home. If the king command thee to go, thou art bound to go, and serving the king thou servest God. If thou serve God, he will not shorten thy days to thine hurt. “ Well, saith some, if they had not gone, they had lived unto this day.” How knowest thou that? Who made thee so privy of God’s counsel? Follow thou thy vocation, and serve the king when he calleth thee. In serving him thou shalt serve God; and till thy time come, thou shalt not die.

“It was marvel that Jonah escaped in such a city.” What then? Yet God preserved him, so that he could not perish. Take therefore an example of Jonah, and every man follow his vocation, not fearing men, but fearing God.

Another seed that Christ was sowing in the sermon was this: “*Qui confessus me fuerit hominibus, confitebor et ego illum coram Patre meo,*” He that confesseth me before men, I shall also confess him before my Father. We must confess him with mouth. It was of a bishop not long ago asked as touching this: “Laws, saith he, must be obeyed, and civil ordinance I will follow outwardly; but my heart in religion is free to think as I will.” So said Friar Forrest,* half a papist, yea, worse than a whole papist.

* John Forrest, an English Franciscan, who was educated at Oxford. He became confessor to queen Catherine, the first wife of Henry VIII., and defended her cause and the supremacy of the pope with such zeal, that the privy council sent him to Newgate, where he wrote a treatise, entitled, “*De auctoritate Ecclesiae et Pontificis Maximi,*” in which he inveighed bitterly against the king for calling himself head of the church. The manuscript was seized, and the author being brought to trial, received judgment of death, which was executed barbarously enough in Smithfield, May 22, 1538; at which time and place Latimer, by order of the government, preached a sermon to the people.—*Wood, Ath. Oxon.* I. 49. *Burnet, Ref.* I. 351.

Well, another seed was, “ He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.” What is this same sin against the Holy Ghost, a horrible sin that never shall be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come ? What is this sin ? Final impenitency, and some say, impugning of the truth. One came to me once, that despaired, because of sin against the Holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved, because he had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I said to him, “ What ! man, (quoth I,) comfort yourself in these words of the Apostle ; ‘ Christus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris,’ Christ is a propitiation for all our sins. And again ; ‘ Ideo me misit Pater in mundum, ut qui credit in me non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam,’ My Father hath for this purpose sent me into the world, that he which believeth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlasting. Also, ‘ Quacunque horâ ingemuerit peccator, salvus erit,’ In what hour soever the sinner shall mourn for his sin, he shall be saved.” I had Scriptures enough for me, (as I thought,) but say what I could say, he could say more against himself, than I could say at that time to do him good

withal. Where some say that the sin against the Holy Ghost, is original sin ; I alleged against that, the saying of St. Paul, “ *Sicut per unius delictum,*” &c., and “ *Si quis egerit poenitentiam,*” If a man had done all the sins in the world, and have true repentance, with faith and hope in God’s mercy, he shall be forgiven. But whatsoever I said, he could still object against me, and avoid my reasons. I was fain to take another day, and did so. “ Let me go to my book, quoth I, and go you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without faith.” I got me to my study ; I read many doctors, but none could content me, no expositor could please me, nor satisfy my mind in the matter. And it is with me as it was with a scholar of Cambridge, who being demanded of his tutor how he understood his lesson, and what it meant ; I know, quoth he, what it meaneth, but I cannot tell it ; I cannot express it. So I understood it well enough, but I cannot well declare it. Nevertheless I will bungle at it as well as I can.

Now to tell you by the way what sin it was that he had committed : he had fallen from the truth known ; and afterward fell to mocking and scorning of it ; and this sin it was that he thought to be unforgivable. I said unto him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in

Scripture. Yet, quoth I, this is not spoken universally, nor it is not meant that God doth never forgive it, but it is commonly called irremissible, unforgivable, because that God doth seldom forgive it. But yet there is no sin so great but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though in words it sound that it shall never be forgiven : as, “Privilegium paucorum non destruit regulam universalem,” The privilege of a few persons doth not destroy a universal rule or saying of Scripture. For the Scripture saith, “Omnes moriemur,” We shall die every one of us : yet some shall be rapt and taken alive, as St. Paul saith ; for this privilege of a few doth not hurt a generality. An irremissible sin, an inexcusable sin ; yet to him that will truly repent, it is forgivable, in Christ it may be remitted : if there be no more than one man forgiven, ye may be that same one man that shall be forgiven. “Ubi abundavit delictum, ibi abundavit et gratia,” Where iniquity hath abounded, there shall grace abound. Thus by little and little this man came to a settled conscience again, and took comfort in Christ’s mercy. Therefore despair not, though it be said it shall never be forgiven. Where Cain said, “My wickedness is so great that God cannot forgive it ;” “Nay, thou liest,” saith Austin to Cain, “Major

est Dei misericordia, quam iniquitas tua," The mercy of God is greater than thine iniquity. Therefore despair not ; but this one thing I say ; beware of this sin that ye fall not into it ; for I have known no more but this one man, that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented and come to grace again. I have known many since ; God hath opened mine eyes to see a little ; I have known many, I say, that knew more than I, and some whom I have honored, that have afterwards fallen from the truth, but never one of them, this man except, that have returned to grace and to the truth again.

But yet, though God doth very seldom forgive this sin, and although it be one of the sins that God doth hate most of all others, and such as is almost never forgiven, yet it is forgivable in the blood of Christ, if one truly repent ; and lo ! it is universal. As there is also another Scripture, " Væ terræ cuius rex puer est," Wo be to the land, to the realm whose king is a child ; which some interpret and refer to childish conditions. But it is commonly true the other way too, when it is referred to the age and years of childhood. For where the king is within age, they that have governance about the king, have much liberty to live voluptuously and licentiously ; and not to be in fear how

they govern, as they would be if the king were of full age, and then commonly they govern not well. But yet Josiah and one or two more, though they were children, yet had their realms well governed, and reigned prosperously ; and yet the saying, “ *Væ terræ cuius rex puer est,* ” is nevertheless true, for all that.

And this I gather of this irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost, that the Scripture saith, it is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven. For indeed I think there is no sin, which God doth so seldom, nor so hardly forgive, as this sin of falling away from the truth, after that a man once knoweth it. And indeed this took best place with the man that I have told you of, and best quieted his conscience.

Another seed was this : Be not careful, saith Christ, what ye shall say before judges and magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my name’s sake ; for the Holy Ghost shall put in your minds even at that present hour, what ye shall speak.

A comfortable saying, and a goodly promise of the Holy Ghost ; “ That the adversaries of the truth, saith he, shall not be able to resist us.” What ! Shall the adversaries of the truth be dumb ? Nay ; there be no greater talkers, nor boasters, and factars, than they be. But they shall not be able to resist the truth to destroy it.

Here some will say, “What needeth universities then, and the preservation of schools ? The Holy Ghost will give always what to say.” Yea, but for all that we may not tempt God ; we must trust in the Holy Ghost, but we must not presume on the Holy Ghost.

Here now should I speak of the universities, and for preferring of schools : but he that preached the last Sunday spake very well in it, and substantially, and like one that knew the state and condition of the universities and schools very well. But thus much I say unto you, magistrates ; If ye will not maintain schools and universities, ye shall have a brutality.

Therefore now a suit again to your Highness. —So order the matter that preaching may not decay : for surely, if preaching decay, ignorance and brutishness will enter again. Nor give the preachers’ livings to secular men. What should the secular men do with the livings of preachers ? I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers ; and that is the cause of rebellion. If there were good bishops, there should be no rebellion.

I am now almost come to my matter, saving one saying of Christ, which was another seed ;

“ Date, et dabitur vobis,” Give and it shall be given unto you, &c. But who believeth this ? If men believed this promise, they would give more than they do ; and at leastwise they would not stick to give a little ; but now-a-days men’s study is set rather to take gifts, and to get of other men’s goods, than to give any of their own. So all other the promises are mistrusted and unbelieved. For if the rich men did believe this promise of God, they would willingly and readily give a little to have the overplus. So where Christ saith of injuries, or offences and trespasses, “ Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam,” &c., Leave the avenging of wrongs alone unto me, and I shall pay them home, &c. If the rebels had believed this promise, they would not have done as they did. So all the promises of God are mistrusted. Noah also after the flood feared at every rain lest the world should be drowned, and destroyed again ; till God gave the rainbow. And what exercise shall we have by the rainbow ? We may learn by the rainbow, that God will be true of his promises, and will fulfil his promises. For God sent the rainbow, and four thousand years it is and more, since this promise was made, and yet God hath been true of his promise unto this day. So that now when we see the rainbow, we may learn that God is true of his

promise. And as God was true in this promise, so is he and will be in all the rest. But the covetous man doth not believe that God is true of his promise ; for if he did he would not stick to give of his goods to the poor.

But as touching that I spake before, when we see the rainbow, and see in the rainbow that it is like water, and of a watery color, and as we may and ought not only to take thereof hold and comfort of God's promise, that he will no more destroy the world with water for sin ; but also we may take an example to fear God, who in such wise hateth sin. Likewise when in the rainbow we see that it is of a fiery color, and like unto fire ; we may gather an example of the end of the world, that except we amend, the world shall at last be consumed with fire, for sin ; and to fear the judgment of God, after which they that are damned shall be burned in hell-fire. These were the seeds that Christ was sowing, when this covetous man came unto him. And now I am come to my matter.

While Christ was thus preaching, this covetous fellow would not tarry till all the sermon was done, but interrupted the sermon, even suddenly chopping in ; "Master, (quoth he,) speak to my brother, that he may divide the inheritance with me." He would not abide till the end of the sermon ; but his mind was on

his halfpenny, and he would needs have his matter despatched out of hand. "Master, (quoth he,) let my brother divide with me." Yet this was a good fellow; he could be contented with part, he desired not to have all together alone to himself, but could be content with a division, and to have his part of the inheritance. And what was the inheritance? "Ager," a field. So that it was but one piece of ground, or one farm. This covetous man could be content with the half of one farm, where our men now-a-days cannot be satisfied with many farms at once. One man must now have as many farms as will serve many men, or else he will not be contented nor satisfied. They will jar now-a-days one with another, except they have all. "Oh," saith the wise man, "There be three things wherein my soul delighteth; "Concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir ac mulier bene sibi consentientes," The unity of brethren, the love of neighbours, and a man and wife agreeing well together. So that the concord of brethren, and agreeing of brethren, is a gay thing. What saith Solomon of this matter? "Frater qui adjuvatur a fratre quasi civitas firma et turris fortis," The brother that is holpen of his brother, is a sure and well-fenced city, and a strong tower. He is so strong! O, it is a great matter, when brethren love and hold together.

But if the one go about to pull down the other, then are they weak both of them ; and when one pulleth down his fellow, they must needs down both of them ; there is no stay to hold them up.

Mark in the chronicles of England : Two brethren have reigned jointly together, the one on this side Humber, and the other beyond Humber, in Scotland, and all that way. And what hath come of it ? So long as they have agreed well together, so long they have prospered ; and when they have jarred, they have both gone to wreck. Brethren that have so reigned here in England, have quarrelled one with another ; and the younger hath not been contented with his portion, (as indeed the younger brother commonly jarreth first) but by the contention both have fared the worse. So when there is any contention between brother and brother for land, commonly they are both undone by it. And that crafty merchant, (whatever he be,) that will set brother against brother, meaneth to destroy them both. But of these two brethren, whether this man here were the elder or the younger, I cannot say ; Scripture telleth me not whether of these two was the younger ; but a likelihood this was the younger ; for once it was a plain law, that “ primogenitus,” that is to say, the elder brother,

had “duplicia;” and therefore of likelihood it should be the youngest brother that found himself aggrieved, and was not content. But Christ said unto him, “Thou man, who hath made me a judge or a divider between you?” Christ answered him by a question; and mark this question of Christ, “Thou man,” “Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos?” Who made me a judge, &c. It is no small matter, saith Austin, of what intention one asketh a question; as Christ in another place of the gospel asketh who was neighbour to the pilgrim that was wounded. “There was, saith Christ, a man that went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, and they wounded him, and left him for dead. And a priest came by, that was his own countryman, and let him lie; a Levite came by, and would show no compassion upon him: at last a Samaritan came by, and set him on his horse, and conveyed him to a city, and provided surgery for him, &c. Now who was neighbour to this wounded man?” saith Christ. “Qui fecit illi misericordiam,” (quoth the lawyer) He that showed mercy upon him. He that did the office of a neighbour, he was neighbour. As ye may perceive by a more familiar example of the bishop of Exeter, at Sutton in Staffordshire. Who is bishop of Exeter? Forsooth, Master Coverdale. What! do not all men know who is bishop of Ex-

eter? What! he hath been bishop many years. Well, say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter; Master Coverdale putteth in execution the bishop's office, and he that doth the office of the bishop, he is the bishop indeed; therefore say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter.

Alack there is a thing that maketh my heart sore. I hear that Master Coverdale is poisoned. Alack, a good man, a godly preacher, an honest, fatherly man; and if it be true, it is a great pity, and a lamentable case, that he feeding them with God's word, they should feed him again with poison.*

* Miles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire, in 1487. He was educated at Cambridge, but took his doctor's degree at Tübingen, in Germany. He was for some time an Augustine monk, and zealous in the cause of popery; but about 1530 he embraced the reformed doctrines, and soon afterwards joined Tindal in translating the Bible into English: but in 1535 Coverdale published his own version in folio with a dedication to Henry VIII. This was called a special translation, because it differed from all others. In 1538 Coverdale published the New Testament in English with the Latin Vulgate. At the end of that year he was abroad, engaged upon a new edition of his bible; but most of the copies were seized and destroyed at Paris. Some of the impressions however escaped, and from them Grafton printed the "Great Bible" in 1539. In 1551 Coverdale was made bishop of Exeter, where he labored so assiduously in promoting the Reformation as raised him many enemies, which oc-

But to the purpose of Christ's question, "Who made me a judge between you?" Here an Anabaptist will say, "Ah, Christ refused the office of a judge, ergo there ought to be no judges nor magistrates among christian men. If it had been a thing lawful, Christ would not have refused to do the office of a judge, and to have determined the variance between these two brethren." But Christ did thereby signify, that he was not sent for that office; but if thou wilt have a trial and a sentence of the matter according to the laws, thou must go to the temporal judge that is deputed therefor. But Christ's meaning was, that he was come for another purpose, he had another office deputed unto him, than to be a judge in temporal matters; "Ego veni vocare peccatores ad pœnitentiam," I am come, saith he, to call sinners to repentance. He was come to preach the gospel, the remission of sin, and the kingdom

casioned the report of his being poisoned, alluded to by his friend Latimer. But the good bishop escaped the malice of the papists in that reign, and what was more remarkable, even in the next he was suffered to go abroad at the intercession of the king of Denmark. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England; but declined the episcopal dignity, and only accepted the living of St. Magnus, London Bridge, which he resigned in 1566. He died at the beginning of 1568.—*Strype's Memorials and Annals.*

of God ; and meant not thereby to disallow the office of temporal magistrates. Nay, if Christ had meant that there should be no magistrates, he would have bid him take all ; but Christ meant nothing so. But the matter is, that this covetous man, this brother, took his mark amiss ; for he came to a wrong man to seek redress of his matter. For Christ did not forbid him to seek his remedy at the magistrate's hand, but Christ refused to take upon him the office that was not his calling.

For Christ had another vocation, than to be a judge between such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their minds, they would not have been their own judges, but they would have sought the redress of their grief at the hands of the king and his magistrates under him appointed. But no marvel of their blindness and ignorance ; for the bishops are out of their dioceses that should teach them this gear. But this man perchance had heard, and did think that Christ was Messias, whose reign in words soundeth a corporal and a temporal reign, which should do justice and see a redress in all matters of worldly controversy : which is a necessary office in a christian realm, and must needs be put in execution for ministering of justice. And therefore I require you, (as a suitor rather than a preach-

er,) look to your office yourself, and lay not all on your officers' backs; receive the bills of supplication yourself. I do not see you do so now-a-days as ye were wont to do the last year.

For God's sake look unto it, and see to the ministering of justice your own self, and let poor suitors have answer. There is a king in Christendom, and it is the king of Denmark, that sitteth openly in justice thrice in the week, and hath doors kept open for the nonce. I have heard it reported of one that hath been there, and seen the proof of it many a time and oft: and the last justice that ever he saw done there, was of a priest's cause that had had his glebe land taken from him (and now here in England some go about to take away all;) but this priest had had his glebe land taken from him by a great man. Well, first went out letters for this man to appear at a day: process went out for him according to the order of the law, and charged him by virtue of those letters to appear afore the king at such a day. The day came: the king sat in his hall ready to minister justice. The priest was there present. The gentleman, this lord, this great man, was called, and commanded to make his appearance according to the writ that had been directed out for him. And the Lord came, and was there, but he ap-

peared not. “No? quoth the king, was he summoned as he should be? Had he any warning to be here?” It was answered, Yea, and that he was there walking up and down in the hall; and that he knew well enough that that was his day, and also that he had already been called, but he said, he would not come before the king at that time; alleging, that he needed not as yet to make an answer, because he had had but one summoning. “No? quoth the king, is he here present?” Yea, forsooth, sir, said the priest. The king commanded him to be called, and to come before him: and the end was this, he made this lord, this great man, to restore unto the priest not only the glebe land which he had taken from the priest, but also the rent and profit thereof, for so long time as he had withholden it from the priest, which was eight years or thereabout. Saith he, when you can shew better evidence than the priest hath done why it ought to be your land, then he shall restore it to you again, and the profits thereof that he shall receive in the mean time; but till that day come, I charge ye that ye suffer him peaceably to enjoy that is his.

This is a noble king, and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like. Look upon the matter yourself. Poor men put up bills every day, and never the near. Confirm your

kingdom in judgment, and begin doing of your own office yourself, even now while you are young, and sit once or twice in the week in council among your lords ; it shall cause things to have good success, and that matters shall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for every man to do his own office, and to see that well executed and discharged.

Uzziah, king in Judah, he would needs do the office of the priest, and he would needs offer incense in the sanctuary, which to do was the priest's office. But he was suddenly stricken with the leprosy for his labor, and so continued a leper all the days of his life.

St. John Baptist's disciples would have had their master to take upon him that he was Christ. But what said John ? "Nemo sibi assumit quicquam nisi datum fuerit ei desuper," No man may take any thing upon himself, except it be given unto him from above. If the Devonshire men had well considered this, they had not provoked the plagues that they have had light upon them. But unpreaching prelacy hath been the chiefest cause of all this hurly-burly and commotions. But if Christ may challenge any kind of men for taking his office upon them, he may say to the mass-mongers, Who gave you commission to offer up Christ ? Who gave you authority to take mine

office in hand ? For it is only Christ's office to do that. It is a great matter to offer Christ ; if Christ had offered his body at the last supper, then should we so do too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ ? An abominable presumption. Paul saith, " *Accepit panem, postquam gratias egisset, fregit et dixit, Accipite, edite,*" He took bread, and after that he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye, &c., and so said, " *Hoc est corpus meum,*" This is my body. He gave thanks ? Well then, in thanksgiving there is no oblation ; and when he gave thanks, it was not his body.

When I was in examination, I was asked many questions, and it was said to me, What Christ did, that should we do. A bishop gathered that upon these words, " *Hoc facite in mei recordationem,*" Do this in remembrance of me. Then said he to me, How know ye that they eat it before he said, " *Hoc est corpus meum,*" This is my body ? I answered again and said, How know ye that they did not eat it ? &c. So I brought unto him the place of Paul abovesaid, and that in thanksgiving is none oblation ; and when he gave thanks it was not his body, for he gave thanks in the beginning of supper, before they eat any manner of thing at all, as his accustomed manner was to do. I wonder therefore that they will or dare

by this text take upon them to offer Christ's body. They should rather say, "Quis me constituit oblatorem?" Who made me an offerer? But when Christ said "Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos?" Who hath made me a judge or a divider of lands among you? Christ did refuse another man's office, an office that he was not of his father deputed unto. Christ's kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and his office was a spiritual office, and he was a spiritual judge. And therefore when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused not to play the judge, but said, "Quis te accusat?" Who accuseth thee? And she said again, "Nemo, Domine," No man, Lord. Then said he, "Nec ego te condemnō," Nor I condemn thee not. "Vade, et noli amplius peccare," Go thy ways and sin no more. Here he took upon him his own office, and did his office; for his office was to preach, and bid sinners amend their evil living; and not to be a temporal judge in temporal causes. And here is another occasion of a suit to your Highness, for the punishment of lechery; for lechery floweth in England like a flood.

But now to make an end in temporal causes. He said, "Quis me constituit judicem?" &c., Who made me a judge of temporal causes among you, and of worldly matters? Thus

came this fellow in here with interrupting of Christ's sermon, and received the answer which I have rehearsed. "Thou man, thou fellow, (quoth he,) who hath made me a judge among you?" And he said unto all the audience, "Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ," See and beware of covetousness. Why so? "Quia non in abundantiâ cujusquam vita ejus est, ex his quæ possidet," For no man's life standeth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. We may have things necessary, and we may have abundance of things, but the abundance doth not make us blessed. It is no good argument, "Quo plus quisque habet, tanto beatus vivit," The more riches that a man hath, the more happily and the more blissfully he liveth. For a certain great man, that had purchased much lands, a thousand marks a year, or I wot not what, a great portion he had; and so on the way as he was in his journey towards London, or from London, he fell sick by the way; a disease took him, that he was constrained to lie upon it. And so being in his bed, the disease grew more and more upon him, that he was by his friends that were about him very godly advised to look to himself, and to make him ready to God; for there was none other likelihood but that he must die without remedy. He cried

out, What ! shall I die ? (quoth he;) wounds ! sides ! heart ! shall I die, and thus go from my goods ? Go, fetch me some physician that may save my life. Wounds and sides ! shall I thus die ? There lay he still in his bed like a block, with nothing but, Wounds and sides ! shall I die ? Within a very little while he died indeed, and then lay he like a block indeed. There was black gowns, torches, tapers, and ringing of bells ; but what is become of him God knoweth, and not I.

But here by this ye may perceive, that it is not the abundance of riches that maketh a man to live quietly and blissfully. But the quiet life is in a mediocrity ; “ *Mediocres optime vivunt,* ” They that are in a mean do live best. And there is a proverb which I read many years ago : “ *Dimidium plus toto,* ” The half sometimes more than the whole. The mean life is the best life, and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himself up to the throat, he should not find ease in it, but displeasure, and with the one half he might satisfy his greedy appetite. So this great riches never maketh a man’s life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Solomon, and his example, “ *Coacervavi mihi argentum et aurum,* ” I gathered silver and gold together, saith he ; I provided me singers, and women

which could play on instruments, to make men mirth and pastime. I gat me psalteries and songs of music, &c., and thus my heart rejoiced in all that I did. But what was the end of all this? "Cum convertissem me ad omnia," &c., When I considered, saith Solomon, all the works that my hands had wrought, &c., lo all was but vanity and vexation of mind; and nothing of any value under the sun. Therefore, leave covetousness; for believe me, if I had an enemy, the first thing that I would wish to him should be, that he might have abundance of riches; for so I am sure he should never be in quiet. But think ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the gospel, Christ spake and declared this unquietness, and uncertainty of great riches, by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much land, that brought forth all fruits plentifully. And he being in a pride of the matter, and much unquiet by reason that he had so much, said to himself, "What shall I do, because I have not room enough wherein to bestow my fruits, that have grown unto me of my lands? I will thus do, saith he, I will pull down my barns, and build greater barns; and I will say to my soul, My soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

But God said to him, “ Stulte, hâc nocte animam tuam repetent abs te,” Thou fool, thou fool, this night will they take thy soul from thee again, and then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided ? Even so it is with him, saith Christ, that gathereth riches unto himself, and is not rich toward God, &c. But yet the covetous man can never be content. I walked one day with a gentleman in a park, and the man regarded not my talk, but cast his head and eye this and that way, so that I perceived he gave no great ear to me, which when I saw I held my peace. At last, “ Oh, (quoth the gentleman,) if this park were mine, I would never desire more while I lived.” I answered and said, “ Sir, and what if ye had this park too ?” for there was another park even hard by. This gentleman laughed at the matter. And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy ; the more he had, the more covetous he was to have still more and more. This was a farmer that had a farm hard by it, and if he might have had this park to it, he would never have desired more. This was a farmer, not altogether so covetous a man, as there be many now-a-days, as for one gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together into his hands all at once.

And here one suit more to your Highness.

There lacketh one thing in this realm, that it hath need of; for God's sake make some promoters. There lack promoters, such as were in king Henry the Seventh's days, your grandfather. There lack men to promote the king's officers when they do amiss, and to promote all offenders. I think there is great need of such men of godly discretion, wisdom, and conscience, to promote transgressors, as rent-raisers, oppressors of the poor, extortioners, bribers, usurers. I hear there be usurers in England, that will take forty in the hundred; but I hear of no promoters to put them up. We read not, This covetous farmer, or landed man of the gospel, bought corn in the markets to lay it up in store, and then sell it again. But and if it please your Highness, I hear say that in England, we have landlords (nay, step-lords I might say,) that are become graziers, and burgesses are become regraters, and some farmers will regrate and buy up all the corn that cometh to the markets, and lay it up in store, and sell it again at a higher price, when they see their time. I heard a merchantman say, that he had travailed all the days of his life in the trade of merchandise; and had gotten three or four thousand pounds by buying and selling: but in case he might be licensed or suffered so to do, he would get a thousand

pound a year, by only buying and selling of grain here within this realm. Yea, and as I hear say, aldermen now-a-days are become colliers. They be both woodmongers and makers of coals; I would wish he might eat nothing but coals for a while, till he had amended it. There cannot a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands. But this rich man that the gospel speaketh of was a covetous man; God had given him plenty, but that made him not a good man: it is another thing that maketh a good man. God saith, “*Si non audieris vocem meam,*” If thou obey not my voice, &c. And therefore worldly riches do not declare the favor or disfavor of God. The Scripture saith, God hath ordained all things to be good; and the devil laboreth to turn all things to man’s evil. God giveth men plenty of riches to exercise their faith and charity, to confirm them that be good, to draw them that be naught, and to bring them to repentance; and the devil worketh altogether to the contrary. And it is an old proverb, The more wicked, the more fortunate. But the unquietness of this covetous rich man, declarereth the unquietness of the mind, that riches bringeth with it. First, they are all in care how to get riches, and then are they in more care how

to keep it still. Therefore the Apostle saith, “Qui volunt ditescere, incident in tentationes varias,” They that study to get great riches; do fall into many divers temptations. But the root of all evil is covetousness. “What shall I do?” saith this rich man. He asked his own brainless head what he should do; he did not ask of the Scripture; for if he had asked of the Scripture, it would have told him, it would have said unto him, “Frangere esurienti panem tuam,” &c., Break thy bread unto the hungry. All the affection of men now-a-days is in building gay and sumptuous houses, it is in setting up and pulling down, and never have they done building. But the end of all such great riches and covetousness is this, “This night, thou fool, thy soul shall be taken from thee.” It is to be understood of all that rise up from little to much, as this rich man that the gospel spake of. I do not despise riches, but I wish that men should have riches as Abraham had, and as Joseph had. A man to have riches to help his neighbour, is godly riches. The worldly riches, is to put all his trust and confidence in his worldly riches, that he may by them live here gallantly, pleasantly and voluptuously. Is this godly riches? No, no, this is not godly riches. It is a common saying now-a-days

among many, "Oh he is a rich man. He is well worth five hundred pounds." He is well worth five hundred pounds that hath given fifty pounds to the poor; otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall have this five hundred pounds? For whom hast thou gotten that five hundred pounds? What saith Solomon? Ecclesiastes v. "Est alia infirmitas pessima quam vidi sub sole, divitiæ conservatæ in malum domini sui," Another evil, saith he, and another very naughty imperfection, is riches hoarded up, and kept together to the owner's own harm; for many times such riches do perish and consume away miserably. Such a one shall sometime have a son, said he, that shall be a very beggar, and live in all extreme penury. O goodly riches, that one man shall get it, and another come to devour it! Therefore, "Videte et cavete ab avaritiâ," See and beware of covetousness. Believe God's words, for they will not deceive you nor lie. Heaven and earth shall perish, but "Verbum Domini manet in æternum," the word of the Lord abideth, and endureth forever. O, this leavened faith, this unseasoned faith, beware of this unseasoned faith. A certain man asked me this question, Didst thou ever see a man live long that had great riches? Therefore saith the wise man, If God send thee rich-

es, use them. If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God's word, and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honor, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

SELECTIONS
FROM
VARIOUS SERMONS.

THE
FIRST SERMON*
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 8th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning ; that we through patience and comfort of Scripture might have hope.

In taking this part of Scripture, most noble audience, I play as a truant, which when he is at school will choose a lesson wherein he is

* The original title of these sermons was as follows :— “The Seven Sermons of the Reverend Father M. Hugh Latimer, which he preached before our late Sovereign Lord of famous memory, King Edward the Sixth, within the preaching-place in the palace at Westminister, in the year of our Lord 1549.” They were “first gathered, writ, and brought to light” by Thomas Some, who calls them “The famous Friday Sermons of M. Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lent last past.”

perfect, because he is loth to take pain in studying a new lesson, or else feareth stripes for his slothfulness. In like manner I might seem now in my old age to some men, to take this part of Scripture, because I would wade easily away therewith, and drive my matter at my pleasure, and not to be bound unto a certain theine. But ye shall consider, that the foresaid words of Paul are not to be understood of all scriptures, but only of those which are written in God's book; and that all things which are therein, "are written for our learning." The excellency of this Word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The Scripture, because of him, is also great, eternal, most mighty and holy. There is no king, emperor, magistrate, and ruler, of what state soever they be, but are bound to obey this God, and to give credence unto his holy word, in directing their steps ordinately according unto the same word.

In teaching evil doctrine all preachers are to be eschewed, and nowise to be hearkened unto. In speaking truth, they are to be heard. All things written in God's book, are most certain, true and profitable for all men: for in it is contained meet matter for kings, princes,

rulers, bishops, and for all estates. Wherefore it behoveth every preacher somewhat to appoint and accommodate himself and his matter, agreeable unto the comfort and amendment of the audience unto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preach before a king, let his matter be concerning the office of a king ; if before a bishop, then let him treat of bishoply duties and orders, and so forth in other matters, as time and audience shall require.

I have thought it good to entreat upon these words following, which are written in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, “*Cum veneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi, possederisque eam,*” &c., that is, When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein ; if thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like unto all the nations that are about me, then thou shalt make him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose. One of thy brethren must thou make king over thee, and mayst not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. But in anywise let him not hold too many horses, that he bring not the people again to Egypt through the multitude of horses ; forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth go no more again that way. Also he shall not have too many wives,

lest his heart turn away : neither shall he gather him silver and gold too much.

As in divers other places of Scripture is meet matter for all estates, so in this foresaid place is described chiefly the doctrine fit for a king. But who is worthy to utter this doctrine before our most noble king ? Not I, God knoweth, which am through age both weak in body and oblivious ; unapt I am, not only because of painful study, but also for this short warning. Well, unto God I will make my moan, who never failed me. “ Auxiliator in necessitatibus,” God is my helper in all my necessities ; to him alone will I make my petition. To pray unto saints departed I am not taught ; to desire like grace of God as they had, right godly it is, or to believe God to be no less merciful unto us, (being faithful,) than he was unto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therefore only unto God let us lift up our hearts, and say the Lord’s prayer.

As the text doth rise, I will touch and go a little in every place, until I come unto “ too much.” I will touch all the foresaid things, but not too much.

God conditioned with the Jews, that their king should be such a one as he himself would choose them. This was not much unlike a bargain that I heard of late should be betwixt

two friends for a horse : the owner promised the other should have the horse if he would ; the other asked the price ; he said twenty nobles. The other would give him but four pound. The owner said he should not have him then. The other claimed the horse, because he said he should have him if he would. —Thus this bargain became a Westminster matter ; the lawyers got twice the value of the horse ; and when all came to all, two fools made an end of the matter.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk ordinately with God, and direct their steps with God. For both patriarchs, judges, and kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God saith, “*Non præficere tibi potes hominem alienum,*” that is, Thou must not set a stranger over thee. It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege king and lord of our own nation, an Englishman, one of our own religion. God hath given him unto us, and is a most precious treasure ; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be king over us. Let us no more now desire to be bankers, but let us endeavour to walk ordinately and plainly after the word of God.

Let us follow Daniel ; let us not seek the

death of our most noble and rightful king, our own brother both by nativity and godly religion. Let us pray for his good state, that he live long among us.

Oh, what a plague were it, that a strange king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us. Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a king from us! Well, the king's grace hath sisters, my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown; who, if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God grant (if they so do, whereby strange religion cometh in) that they never come unto coursing nor succeeding. Therefore to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all lechery, and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath, were he not merciful, even to take from us our natural king and liege lord; yea, and to plague us with a strange king, for our unrepentant hearts. Wherfore, if, as ye say, ye love the king, amend your lives, and

then ye shall be a mean that God shall lend him us long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins provoke much God's wrath. Scripture saith, "Dabo tibi regem in furore meo," that is, I will give thee a king in my wrath. Now, we have a lawful king, a godly king: nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the ministers appointed have studied to amend and redress all evils; long time before this, great labor hath been about this matter; great cracks hath been made, that all should be well. But when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done; in whom these words of Horace may well be verified, saying, "Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus," The mountains swell up, the poor mouse is brought out. Long before this time, many hath taken in hand to bring many things unto pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste; and let us learn to convert, to repent, and amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness, a hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the pope in Egypt. God hath given us a deliverer, a natural king: let us seek no stranger of

another nation ; no hypocrite, which shall bring in again all papistry, hypocrisy and idolatry ; no diabolical minister, which shall maintain all devilish works and evil exercises. But let us pray that God maintain and continue our most excellent king here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity, and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth us rectify in the liberty of the gospel ; in that therefore let us stand. “ State ergo in libertate, quâ Christus nos liberavit,” Stand ye in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. (Gal. v.) In Christ’s liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit ; if we cast away all evil, fraud and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God’s word. And in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble king’s days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives, to live not only prosperously, but also godly.

“ In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses,” &c. In speaking these words, ye shall understand, that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy and provision of the king ; but against excess, and vain trust that kings have in themselves more than in the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory.—Many horses are requisite for a king ; but he may not exceed

in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the king's stable, but only he would be master of his horses ? The Scripture saith, "In altis habitat," He dwelleth on high. It followeth. "Humilia respicit," He looketh on low things, (Psalm cxii.) yea, upon the king's stables, and upon all the offices in his house. God is the great grandmaster of the king's house, and will take account of every one that bear- eth rule therein, for the executing of their offices ; whether they have justly and truly serv- ed the king in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not.

Every king is subject unto God, and all other men are subjects unto the king. In a king God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a king be good and necessary, if they be well used ; but horses are not to be preferred above poor men. I was once offend- ed with the king's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the king's majesty that dead is, when abbeys stood. Abbeys were ordained for the comfort of the poor ; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the king's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time ; the living of poor men there-

by minished and taken away. But afterward a certain nobleman said to me, What hast thou to do with the king's horses ? I answered and said, I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me. He said, Horses be the maintenance and part of a king's honor, and also of his realm; wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against the king's honor. I answered, God teacheth what honor is decent for the king, and for all other men according unto their vocations. God appointeth every king a sufficient living for his estate and degree, both by lands and other customs ; and it is lawful for every king to enjoy the same goods and possessions. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honor of the king. If you do move the king to do after that manner, then you speak against the honor of the king ; for I full certify you, extortioners, violent oppressors, engrossers of tene- ments and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the king's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed. They be those which speak against the honor of the king. God requireth in the king and all magistrates a good heart to walk directly in his ways, and in all subjects an obedience due unto a king. Therefore I pray God both the king, and also we his people, may

endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honor and our profit.

" Let him not prepare unto himself too many wives," &c. Although we read here that the kings amongst the Jews had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to walk inordinately, and to think that we may take also many wives. For Christ hath forbidden this unto us Christians. And let us not impute sin unto the Jews because they had many wives ; for they had a dispensation so to do. Christ limiteth unto us one wife only ; and it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and ordinatorily. For a woman is frail, and proclive unto all evils ; a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man and bring him unto evil. Many examples we have in holy Scripture. Adam had but one wife, called Eve, and how soon had she brought him to consent unto evil, and to come to destruction ? How did wicked Jezebel pervert king Ahab's heart from God and all godliness, and finally unto destruction ? It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our king, what time his grace shall be so minded to take a wife, choose him one which is of God, that is, which is of the household of faith. Yea, let all estates be no less circumspect in choosing

her, taking great deliberation ; and then they shall not need divorcements, and such mischiefs, to the evil example and slander of our realm. And that she be such a one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage ; and then he shall be the more prone and ready to advance God's glory, and to punish and to extirp the great lechery used in this realm.

Therefore we ought to make a continual prayer unto God for to grant our king's grace such a mate as may knit his heart and hers, according to God's ordinance and law ; and not to consider and cleave only to a politic matter or conjunction, for the enlarging of dominions, for surety and defence of countries, setting apart the institution and ordinance of God.—We have now a pretty little shilling, indeed a very pretty one. I have but one, I think, in my purse ; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat : and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see : but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is, **TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ VEL SAPIENTIÆ** ; The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom. I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king in choosing his wife, and in all his officers.

“ He shall not multiply unto himself too

much gold and silver." Is there too much, think you, for a king? God doth allow much unto a king, and it is expedient that he should have much; for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realms and subjects. And necessary it is that a king have a treasure always in a readiness for that, and such other affairs as be daily in his hands. The which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully and with a safe conscience take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects' purses, when the money should be occupied; nor it were not best for themselves, for the lack thereof it might cause both it, and all the rest that they have, should not long be theirs. And so, for a necessary and expedient occasion, it is warranted by God's word to take of the subjects. But if there be sufficient treasures, and burdening of subjects be for a vain thing, so that he will require thus much or so much of his subjects, (which perchance are in great necessity and penury) then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is too much, which God forbiddeth the king here in this place of Scripture to have. But who shall see this too much, or tell the king of this too much? Think you any of the king's privy chamber? No: for fear of loss of favor. Shall any of his

sworn chaplains ? No : they be of the closet, and keep close such matters. But the king himself must see this too much.

Well then, if God will not allow a king too much, whether will he allow a subject too much ? No, that he will not. Whether have any man here in England too much ? I doubt most rich men have too much ; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician. If the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants' hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that herebefore went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labor,) now is let for fifty or a hundred pound by year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts. Notwithstanding, too much which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live

of their labor, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear ; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced ; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

I will tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the king's honor. Yet some will say, Knowest thou what belongeth unto the king's honor better than we ? I answer, that the true honor of a king is most perfectly mentioned and painted forth in the Scriptures ; of which if ye be ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it, albeit that your counsel be never so politic, yet is it not for the king's honor. What his honor meaneth, ye cannot tell. It is the king's honor that his subjects be led in the true religion ; that all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the king's honor that the commonwealth be advanced, that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein resteth the king's honor and his office. So doing,

his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded.

Furthermore, if the king's honor, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people ; then these graziers, enclosers and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honor. For whereas have been a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog ; so they hinder the king's honor most of all.

My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the king's honor, (as I have a part declared before, and as far as I can perceive,) do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery, and the clergy shavery.* For such works are all singular, private wealth and commodity. We of the clergy had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the king, I have sufficient ; and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing ; but I know them that have too little.

There lieth a great matter by these appro-

* This play upon words, in which Latimer delighted, alluded to the scandalous seizure of the church-lands by the laity.

priations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market-town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labors to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth, (being so great a cure,) hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way.

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do any

thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that, and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much : so now ye have double too much, which is two too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners, enclosers, many meetings and sessions ; but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass, that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, (as indeed universities do wondrously decay already,) and that they be not able to marry their daughters, to the avoiding of whoredom ; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons ? No, no, read the Chronicles ; ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye

shall find none of them learned men. But verily, they that should look to the redress of these things, be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks; and amongst many I know but one, of tender zeal, at the motion of his poor tenants, hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let him not be a phenix, let him not be alone, let him not be a hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

THE
SECOND SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,

MARCH 15th.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, &c.

All things that are written in God's book, in the holy Bible, they were written before our time, but yet to continue from age to age, as long as the world doth stand.

I have ript the matter now to the pill, and have told you of plain walkers, and of by-walkers, and how a king in his childhood is a king, as well as in any other age. We read in Scripture of such as were but twelve or eight years old, and yet the word of the Holy Ghost called them kings, saying, "Cœpit regnare," He began to reign, or he began to be king. Here is of by-walkers. This history would be remembered; the proverb is, "Felix quem faciunt

aliena pericula cautum," Happy is he that can beware by another man's jeopardy. For if we offend not as other do, it is not our own deserts. If we fall not, it is God's preservation. We are all offenders: for either we may do, or have done, or shall do, (except God preserve us,) as evil as the worst of them. I pray God we may all amend and repent; but we will all amend now, I trust. We must needs amend our lives every man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receive it unworthily.

Well, to return to my history. King David, I say, was a king in his second childhood. And so young kings, though they be children, yet are they kings notwithstanding. And though it be written in Scripture, "Væ tibi, O terra, ubi puer est rex," Wo to thee, O land, where the king is a child; it followeth in another place, "Beata terra ubi rex nobilis," Blessed is the land where there is a noble king; where kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hawking and hunting. And when had the king's majesty a council, that took more pain both night and day for the setting forth of God's word, and profit of the commonwealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, "Tush, this gear will not tarry; it is but my lord protector's and my lord of Canter-

bury's doing : the king is a child, and he knoweth not of it." Jesu, mercy ! How like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in by-ways. Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say, This gear will not tarry. I never heard nor read at any time that they said, These laws were made in such a king's days, when he was but a child ; let us alter them. O Lord, what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews !

Blessed be the land, saith the word of God, where the king is noble. What people are they that say, The king is but a child ? Have not we a noble king ? Was there ever king so noble ? so godly ? brought up with so noble counsellors ? so excellent and well learned schoolmasters ? I will tell you this, and I speak it even as I think ; his majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life.*

* Edward the Sixth was a very extraordinary youth, and Cardan says, " All the graces were in him ; that he had many tongues when he was yet but a child ; together with the English, he had both Latin and French, nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a

I told you in my last sermon of ministers of the king's people, and had occasion to shew you how few noblemen were good preachers; and I left out a history then, which I will now tell you.

There was a bishop of Winchester, in king Henry the Sixth's days, which king was but a child,* and yet there were many good acts

mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree." He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he wrote first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand him, and afterwards he copied out the whole fair in his diary. This journal is inserted among the records in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.

* Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal priest of the church of Rome, was the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catharine Swinford. Being educated for the church, he was made bishop of Lincoln, in 1397, by papal mandate. In 1404, he became lord chancellor, and the year following bishop of Winchester. In 1417, he lent Henry V. twenty thousand pounds towards carrying on his expedition against France, but took care to have the crown in pledge for the money. That year he went to the Holy Land, and on his return, was present at the council of Constance. On the death of the king, he was one of the guardians of Henry VI., when disputes arose between him and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which ended in the ruin and death of the latter. These contentions ran so high, that the duke of Bedford, regent of France, was called over to accommodate matters, but without effect. Two years

made in his childhood ; and I do not read that they were broken. This bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the lord protector. Well, it chanced that the lord protector and he fell out, and the bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played me the satrapa ;* so that the regent of France was fain to be sent for from beyond the seas, to set them at one, and go between them : for the bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the lord protector, as he was with him.

Was not this a good prelate ? He should have been at home preaching in his diocese with a wannion.

This protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of every man the good duke Humphrey. He kept such a house as never was kept since in England, without any enhancing of rents, I warrant you, or any such

afterwards the bishop received a cardinal's hat, and was appointed pope's legate. From this time he was continually engaged in public affairs ; but in 1442, the duke of Gloucester drew up articles of impeachment against him, though the prosecution was soon dropped. The cardinal died June 14, 1447, within a month after the murder of the duke. Shakespeare has exhibited a dreadful picture of the death-bed of Beaufort, but it is generally believed to be more poetical than true.

* An eastern term for the governor of a province.

matter. And the bishop, for standing so stiffly by the matter, and bearing up the order of our mother the holy church, was made a cardinal at Calais ; and thither the bishop of Rome sent him a cardinal's hat. He should have had a Tyburn tippet, a half-penny halter, and all such proud prelates. These Romish hats never brought good into England.

Upon this the bishop goeth me to the queen Katherine, the late king's wife, a proud woman, and a stout, and persuaded her, that if the duke were in such authority still, and lived, the people would honor him more than they did the king, and the king should not be set by ; and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St. Edmundsbury, in a parliament, the good duke Humphrey was smothered.

But now to return to my text, and to make further rehearsal of the same, the matter beginneth thus : “ *Et postquam sederit rex,* ” And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom—” What shall he do ? Shall he dance and dally, banquet, hawk, and hunt ? No forsooth, sir. For as God set an order in the king's stable, as I told you in my last sermon, so will he appoint what pastime a king shall have. What must he do then ? He must be a student, he must write God's book himself ; not thinking because he is a king he hath li-

cense to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say ; Yea, trouble not yourself, sir, ye may hawk and hunt, and take your pleasure. As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it.

These flattering clawbacks are original roots of all mischief, and yet a king may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more lusty : and this is called pastime with good company. He must write out a book himself. He speaketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the king write it out himself ? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and rather than he should be without it, write it himself. Jesus, mercy ! Is God so chary with a king, to have him well brought up, and instructed ? Yea, forsooth ; for if the king be well ordered, the realm is well ordered.

Where shall we have a copy of this book ? Of the Levites. And why ? Because it shall be a true copy, not falsified.

Moses left the book in an old chest, and the Levites had it in keeping. (Deut. xviii.) And because there should be no error, no addition, nor taking away from it, he biddeth him fetch the copy of the Levites.

And was not here a great miracle of God how this book was preserved ? It had lain hid many years, and the Jews knew not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it, they lamented for their ignorance that had so long been without it, and rent their clothes, repenting their unfaithfulness. And the Holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, it hath been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were never so malicious. First, ever since the bishop of Rome was first in authority, they have gone about to destroy it ; but God worketh wonderfully, he hath preserved it, maugre their hearts, and yet are we unthankful that we cannot consider it. I will tell you what a bishop of this realm said once to me : he sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. And I answered that I would be ruled by God's book, and rather than I would dissent one jot from it, I would be torn with wild horses. And I chanced in our communication, to name the Lord's Supper ? Tush ! saith the bishop, what do ye call the Lord's Supper ? What new term is that ? There stood by him a dubber, one Doctor Dubber, he dubbed him by and by, and said that this term was seldom read in the Doctors. And I made answer, that I would rather follow Paul in

using his terms, than them, though they had all the Doctors on their side. “Why,” said the bishop, “cannot we, without Scriptures, order the people? How did they before the Scripture was first written and copied out?” But God knoweth, full ill yet would they have ordered them; for seeing that having it, they have deceived us, in what case should we have been now without it? But thanks be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle he hath preserved the book still.

It followeth in the text, “*Habebit secum,*” He shall have it with him: in his progress, he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may always commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a year, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weary of hawking and hunting, but “*cunetis diebus vitæ suæ,*” all the days of his life. Where are those worldlings now? these bladder-puffed up, wily men? Wo worth them that ever they were about any king. But how shall we read this book, as the Homilies are read? Some call them homelies; and indeed so they may be well called, for they are homely handled. For though the priest read them never so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babbling in the church that nothing can

be heard; and if the parish be good, and the priest naught, he will so hack it and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that shall be understood. And yet, (the more pity,) this is suffered of your grace's bishops in their dioceses unpunished. But I will be a suitor to your grace, that ye will give your bishops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flock, and to see your majesty's injunctions better kept, and send your Visitors in their tails. And if they be found negligent or faulty in their duties, out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them. But peradventure ye will say, Where shall we have any to put in their rooms? Indeed I were a presumptuous fellow, to move your grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in their places. But your majesty hath divers of your chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge; and yet ye have some that be bad enough, hangers-on of the court; I mean not those. But if your majesty's chaplains, and my lord protector's, be not able to furnish their places, there is in this realm, thanks be to God, a great sight of laymen, well learned in the Scriptures, and of virtuous and godly conversation, better learned than a great sight of us of the clergy.

I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad, I dare say, to minister the function, if they be called to it. I move it of conscience to your grace, let them be called to it orderly, let them have institution, and give them the name of the clergy. I mean not the name only, but let them do the function of a bishop, and live of the same: not as it is in many places, that one should have the name, and eight other the profit. For what an enormity is this in a christian realm, to serve in a civility, having the profit of a provostship, and a deanery, and a parsonage? But I will tell you what is like to come of it; it will bring the clergy shortly into a very slavery. I may not forget here my “*scala cœli*,” that I speake of in my last sermon. I will repeat it now again, desiring your grace in God’s behalf, that ye will remember it. The bishop of Rome had a “*scala cœli*,” but his was a mass matter. This “*scali cœli*,” that I now speak of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven. The top of the ladder, or first greese, is this: Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. The second step: How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed? The third stair is this: How shall they believe in him, of whom they never heard? The fourth step: How shall they

hear without a preacher? Now the nether end of the ladder is: How shall they preach except they be sent? This is the foot of the ladder, so that we may go backward now, and use the school argument, "a primo ad ultimum;" Take away preaching, take away salvation. But I fear one thing; and it is, lest for a safety of a little money, you will put in chantry priests to save their pensions. But I will tell you, Christ bought souls with his blood, and will ye sell them for gold or silver? I would not that ye should do with chantry priests,* as ye did with the abbots, when abbeys were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but "Down with them." But within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. O Lord, think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not? And if he see it, will he not punish it? And so now for safety of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry priests. I speak not now against such chantry priests as are able to preach, but those that are not able. I will not

* Chantry priests were, in the time of popery, those who had a settled income, on condition of singing constantly at particular altars, for the souls of the founders.

have them put in ; for if ye do this, ye shall answer for it.

One word note here for God's sake, and I will trouble you no longer. Would Solomon, being so noble a king, hear two poor women ? They were poor, for as the Scripture saith, They were together alone in a house ; they had not so much as one servant between them both. Would king Solomon, I say, hear them in his own person ? Yea, forsooth. And yet I hear of many matters before my lord protector, and my lord chancellor, that cannot be heard. I must desire my lord protector's grace to hear me in this matter, that your grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear ; let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard every where ; if he be rich he shall soon have an end of his matter.

Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them from an ancient knight of the country. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury, and being at

his house, now and then I walk in the garden, looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing. But among all other, one specially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, Sir.

A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keepeth certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth; and that in a whole twelvemonth, she could not get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel; the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do; so that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the great man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your judges, and hear poor men's causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book : "Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum ;" Hear them, saith he, the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich. Regard no person ; fear no man. Why ? "Quia Domini judicium est," The judgment is God's. Mark this saying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of these judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God, nor the world.

There was a certain widow that was a suitor to a judge, and she met him in every corner of the street, crying, "I pray you hear me, I beseech you hear me, I ask nothing but right." When the judge saw her so importunate, "Though I fear neither God, saith he, nor the world, yet because of her importunateness, I will grant her request." (Luke xviii.) But our judges are worse than this judge was, for they will neither hear men for God's sake, nor fear of the world, nor importunateness, nor any thing else. Yea, some of them will command them to ward, if they be importunate.

I heard say, that when a suitor came to one

of them, he said, What fellow is it that giveth these folk counsel to be so importunate? He would be punished and committed to ward. Marry, sir, punish me then; it is even I that gave them counsel; I would gladly be punished in such a cause. And if ye amend not, I will cause them to cry out upon you still, even as long as I live. I will do it indeed: but I have troubled you long. As I began with this sentence, “Quæcunque scripta sunt,” &c., All things that are written, &c., So I will end now with this text, “Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud,” Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.

There was another suit, and I had almost forgotten it. There is a poor woman that lieth in the Fleet, and cannot come, by any means that she can make, to her answer, and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pound; and yet she cannot be heard. Methinks this is a reasonable cause, it is a great pity that such things should so be. I beseech God that he will grant, that all that is amiss may be amended, that we may hear his word and keep it, that we may come to the eternal bliss, to the which bliss I beseech God to bring both you and me. Amen.

THE
THIRD SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 22d.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.
All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

In the popish mass-time, there was no gainsaying ; all things seemed to be in peace, in a concord, in a quiet agreement. So long as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popish mass, we were then without gainsaying. What was that ? The same that Christ speaketh of, “*Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium,*” &c. When satan, the devil, hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession. When satan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with us when we preached pardon matters, purgatory

matters, and pilgrimage matters, all was quiet. He is ware enough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring up any sedition. When he keepeth his territory, all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the pope's times, (as peradventure there was two or three,) straightways he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of a heretic. When he hath the religion in possession, he stirreth up no sedition, I warrant you.

How many dissensions have we heard of in Turkey ? But a few, I warrant you. He busieth himself there with no dissension. For he hath there dominion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble himself any further.

There is a certain man, that shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day, answered, Yea. "I pray you," said he, "how liked you him ?" "Marry," said he, "even as I liked him always ; a seditious fellow." Oh Lord, he pinched me there indeed ; nay, he had rather a full bite at me. Yet I comfort myself with that, that Christ himself was noted to be a stirrer up of the people against the emperor, and was contented to be called seditious. It becometh me to take it in good worth ; I am not better than he was. In the king's days that dead is,

a many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth me down, and accuseth me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name him, ye would not think it.

The king turned to me and said, "What say you to that, Sir ?" Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to mine accuser, and required him : "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a king? Would you have me for to preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's sermon ? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach ?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire

your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience ; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to mine audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so, at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace."

And I thank almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the king, for like a gracious lord, he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, "Cor regis in manu Domini," The Lord directed the king's heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night. Thus have I evermore been burdened with the word of sedition. I have offended God grievously, transgressing his law, and but for this remedy and his mercy, I would not look to be saved. As for sedition, for aught that I know, methinks I should not need Christ, if I might so say. But if I be clear in any thing, I am clear in this. So far as I know my own heart, there is no man further from sedition than I, which I have declared in all my doings, and yet it hath ever been laid to me.

Another time, when I gave over mine office, I should have received a certain duty that they

call a Pentecostal,* it came to the sum of fifty and five pound. I set my commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered, for it was said a sedition should rise upon it.

Thus they burdened me ever with sedition. So this gentleman cometh up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, (to refresh my auditory,) how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat. I was herein noted to speak seditiously. Yet I comfort myself in one thing, that I am not alone, and that I have a fellow; for it is “*consolatio miserorum*,” It is comfort of the wretched to have company.

So, thought I, there be more of mine opinion than I thought; I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition; and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the prophet. I speake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was so bold to meddle with their coin. Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty city of Jerusalem: “*Argentum tuum*

* An offering made at Whitsuntide, by the churches or parishes in every diocese to the cathedral. It was collected by the bishop's commissary, and succeeded the payment of Peter-pence to the Pope.

versum est in scoriam." Thy silver is turned into, "what?" Into testions?* "Scoriam." Into dross.

Ah, seditious wretch, what had he to do with the mint? Why should not he have left that matter to some master of policy to reprove? "Thy silver is dross;" it is not fine, it is counterfeit, thy silver is turned; thou hadst good silver. What pertained that to Isaiah? Mary, he espied a piece of divinity in that policy, he threatened them God's vengeance for it.

He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove; or else that it tended to the hurt of the poor people; for the naughtiness of the silver was the occasion of dearth of all things in the realm. He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed. Was not this a seditious varlet, to tell them this to their beards, to their face?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying, "Vinum tuum mixtum est aquâ," Thy wine is

* An old silver coin among the French, of the value of eighteen pence, but in the time of King Henry the Eighth, being made of brass, it was reduced to twelve pence; under Edward the Sixth, to nine-pence, and afterwards to six-pence.

mingled with water. Here he meddleth with vinters : belike there were brewers in those days, as there be now. It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelled in that country, for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance ; when I should say mass, I have put in water twice or thrice for failing ; insomuch when I have been at my memento, I have had a grudge in my conscience, fearing that I had not put in water enough. And that which is here spoken of wine, he meaneth it of all arts in the city, of all kinds of faculties ; for they have all their medleys and minglings. That he speaketh of one thing, he meaneth generally of all. I must tell you more news yet.

I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you, were it no wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become poticaries ? Yea, and as I hear say, in such a place, whereas they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time. See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor gospel goeth to wreck.

If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes,

and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thick him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary ; they call it flock-powder ; they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider : truly a goodly invention ! Oh that so goodly wits should be so ill applied ; they may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too. Now they have turned their flocks into powder, to play the false thieves with it. O wicked devil, what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word ? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plain theft. Wo worth that these flocks should so slander the word of God. As he said to the Jews, " Thy wine is mingled with water," so might he have said to us of this land, Thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder. He goeth yet on.

This seditious man reproveth this honorable city, and saith, " *Principes tui infideles,*" Thou land of Jerusalem, thy magistrates, thy judges are unfaithful ; they keep no touch, they will talk of many gay things, they will pretend this and that, but they keep no promise. They be worse than unfaithful. He was not afraid to

call the officers unfaithful, “*Et socii furum;*” And fellows of thieves : for thieves and thieves’ fellows be all of one sort. They were wont to say, Ask my fellow if I be a thief. He calleth princes thieves ? What ? princes thieves ? What a seditious harlot* was this ! Was he worthy to live in a commonwealth, that would call princes on this wise, fellows of thieves ? Had they a standing at Shooters-hill, or Standgate-hole, to take a purse ? Why ? Did they stand by the highway-side ? Did they rob, or break open any man’s house or door ? No, no ; that is a gross kind of thieving. They were princes ; they had a prince-like kind of thieving. “*Omnis diligunt munera,*” They all love bribes. Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put off the poor man’s causes. This is the noble theft of princes and of magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards : let them leave their coloring, and call them by their Christian name, bribes. “*Omnis diligunt munera,*” All the princes, all the judges, all the priests, all the rulers, are bribers. What ! Were all the magistrates in Jerusalem, all bribe-takers ? None good ? No doubt there were some good.

* The word harlot was then common for a vile person of either sex.

This word “omnes,” signifieth the most part, and so there be some good, I doubt not of it, in England. But yet we be far worse than those stiff-necked Jews. For we read of none of them that winced nor kicked against Isaiah’s preaching, or said that he was a seditious fellow. It behoveth the magistrates to be in credit, and therefore it might seem that Isaiah was to blame to speak openly against the magistrates. It is very sure that they that be good, will bear, and not spurn at the preachers: they that be faulty, they must amend, and neither spurn, nor wince, nor whine. He that findeth himself touched or galled, he declareth himself not to be upright. Wo worth these gifts! they subvert justice every where. “Sequuntur retributiones,” They follow bribes. Somewhat was given to them before, and they must needs give somewhat again: for Giffe-gaffe* was a good fellow, this Giffe-gaffe led them clean from justice. They follow gifts.

A good fellow on a time bade another of his friends to a breakfast, and said, If you will come, you shall be welcome; but I tell you beforehand, you shall have but slender fare, one

* An old jingle word for bribery, a gift for gift; or one good turn for another.

dish, and that is all. What is that, said he ? A pudding, and nothing else. Marry, said he, you cannot please me better ; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth ; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

I am content to bear the title of sedition with Isaiah : thanks be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularity. This same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time whether he were at the sermon at Paul's cross. He answered that he was there : and being asked, What news there ? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a mule, and that he was a gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he ; for I dare say the mule never slandered the preacher. O what an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon his back ! I was there at the sermon myself. In the end of his sermon he gave a general absolution, and as far as I remember, these or such other like words he spake, but at the least I am sure this was his meaning ; As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and

stand not in defence of it, and heartily abhorreth it; and will believe in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, "Ego absolvo vos," quoth he. Now saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved. The preacher absolved but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too wise; yea, he is so wise, that wise men marvel, how he came truly by the tenth part of that he had. But in wisdom which consisteth "in rebus Dei, in rebus salutis," in godly matters, and appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle. "Tanquam equus et mullus, in quibus non est intellectus," Like horses and mules, that have no understanding. If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop his mouth, or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory.

Another man, quickened with a word I spake, (as he said,) opprobriously against the nobility, that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates, was offended with me. I did not mean so, but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word; howbeit the poor men's sons have done it al-

ways, for the most part. “Johannes Alasco* was here, a great learned man, and as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again.” If it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity.

I would wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving of them. “Qui vos recipit, me recipit,” Who receiveth you, receiveth me, saith Christ; and it should be for the king’s honor to receive them and keep them. I heard say Master Me-

* John Alasco, the Polish reformer, was born of a noble family, many of whom filled high offices in church and state. He received a very liberal education, after which he travelled into Germany, where he embraced the reformed doctrines. At Basil he contracted an intimacy with Erasmus, who recommended him to Cardinal Pole. In 1542 he undertook the ministerial office at Embden, but in 1548 accepted an invitation from archbishop Cranmer, by whose interest he obtained the dissolved convent of the Augustine friars in London, where he gathered a German congregation. On the accession of Mary, he was ordered out of the kingdom; and returned to Embden, from whence he removed to Frankfort on the Maine. Being a Zuinglian, he incurred the enmity of the rigid Lutherans, in consequence of which he went to Poland, and for some time was employed in public affairs; but the machinations of the Romish clergy obliged him to return to Frankfort, where he died, January 13, 1560.

Iancthon,* that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pound a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Peter Martyr,† and Ber-

* Philip Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers, was invited to England, in 1534, by Henry the Eighth, and he would then have complied, agreeably to the advice of the elector of Saxony and Luther, had it not been for the tragical end of Anne Boleyne, the news of which altered his resolution. Henry repeated the invitation in 1538, with some flattering compliments to the great learning and sound judgment of Melancthon; but the German divine still declined the honor, and even in the next reign, when he could have no reasonable objections to a settlement in England, he hesitated till the death of that excellent young monarch put an end to the design altogether, though the divinity professorship at Cambridge had been kept vacant on purpose for him.

† Peter Martyr, or Vermilius, was born of a distinguished family at Florence, in 1500. He became an Augustine monk, and was so celebrated as a preacher, that he obtained the abbey of Spoleto, from whence he removed to Naples, where the writings of Zuinglius and Bucer effected a change in his religious sentiments. He had the courage to preach against the errors of popery even at Rome, but was soon obliged to quit Italy for Germany, from whence he came to England, and in 1549 was made professor of divinity at Oxford. On the accession of Mary, he went to Strasburg, next to Geneva, and afterwards to Zurich, where he died in 1562.

nard Ochin,* which have a hundred marks apiece. I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort.

Now I will to my place again. In the latter end of my sermon, I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great; “*Juste quod justum est judicate,*” You must not only do justice, but do it justly: you must observe all circumstances: you must give justice, and minister just judgment in time; for the delaying of matters of the poor folk, is as sinful before the face of God, as wrong judgment.

I rehearsed here a parable of a wicked judge, which for importunity’s sake, heard the poor woman’s cause, &c.

Here is a comfortable place for all you that

* Bernardinus Ochinus, an Italian monk, of the order of Capuchins, after having acquired a great reputation as a preacher, embraced the reformed doctrines by the instrumentality of Peter Martyr, in 1542. He then went to Geneva, next to Augsburg, and in 1547 visited England by the invitation of Cranmer, with whom he resided for some time at Lambeth, and was made by him prebendary of Canterbury. On the death of Edward VI. he went to Strasburgh, and next to Zurich, where he became minister of an Italian church. In 1563, he was banished from Zurich on a charge of Socinianism, in consequence of which he removed to Poland, but was expelled thence, and died at Slacow, in 1564, aged seventy-seven.

cry out, and are oppressed ; for you have not a wicked judge, but a merciful judge to call unto. I am not now so full of foolish pity, but I can consider well enough, that some of you complain without a cause.

They weep, they wail, they mourn, I am sure some not without a cause. I did not here reprove all judges, and find fault with all. I think we have some as painful magistrates as ever was in England ; but I will not swear they be all so ; and they that be not of the best, must be content to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended.

Note here, my lords and masters, what case poor widows and orphans be in. I will tell you, my lord judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye should be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a nobleman, with all the friends and power that he can make.

But now-a-days, the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich, insomuch they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it. The greatest man in a realm cannot so hurt a judge as the poor widow : such a shrewd turn she can do him. And with what armour, I pray you ? She can bring the judge's skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him.

And how is that? “*Lachrymæ miserorum descendant ad maxillas,*” The tears of the poor fall down upon their cheeks, “*et ascendunt ad cælum,*” and go up to heaven, and cry for vengeance before God, the judge of widows, the father of widows and orphans. Poor people be oppressed even by laws. “*Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas,*” Wo worth to them that make evil laws against the poor! What shall be to them that hinder and mar good laws? “*Quid facietis in die ultionis,*” What will ye do in the day of great vengeance, when God shall visit you? He saith, he will hear the tears of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the judge, be he never so high. “*Deus transfert regna.*” He will, for widows’ sakes, change realms, bring them into troubles, pluck the judges’ skins over their heads.

Cambyses* was a great emperor, such another as our master is; he had many lord deputies, lord presidents, and lieutenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the history.

* Cambyses, king of Persia, succeeded his father, in the year of the world, 3506. The only act of his life that does credit to his memory was that of punishing the unjust judge Sisamnes, in the manner here described, and placing his son Otanes upon the tribunal, with a warning that if he followed his father’s example, he should experience the same judgment.

It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions, a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men, he followed gifts as fast as he that followed the pudding, a hand-maker in his office, to make his son a great man ; as the old saying is, Happy is the child, whose father goeth to the devil. The cry of the poor widow came to the emperor's ear, and caused him to flay the judge quick, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, that all judges that should give judgment afterward, should sit in the same skin. Surely it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge's skin. I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England.

Ye will say, peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken. No, no ; I do it charitably, for a love I bear my country. God saith, “Ego visitabo,” I will visit. God hath two visitations : the first is, when he revealeth his word by preachers ; and where the first is accepted, the second cometh not. The second visitation is vengeance. He went a visitation when he brought the judge's skin over his ears. If his word be despised, he cometh with his second visitation, with vengeance.

Noah preached God's word a hundred years, and was laughed to scorn, and called an old doting fool. Because they would not accept

this first visitation, God visited them the second time ; he poured down showers of rain, till all the world was drowned. Lot was a visitor of Sodom and Gomorrah ; but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time, and burnt them all up with brimstone, saving Lot. Moses came first a visitation into Egypt with God's word ; and because they would not hear him, God visited them again, and drowned them in the Red Sea. God likewise with his first visitation visited the Israelites by his prophets ; but because they would not hear his prophets, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them in Assyria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise, and our Saviour Christ visited them afterward, declaring to them God's will ; and because they despised these visitors, he destroyed Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. Germany was visited twenty years with God's word, but they did not earnestly embrace it, and in life follow it, but made a mingle-mangle, and a hotch-potch of it ; I cannot tell what, partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, “Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur.” Even so they made mingle-mangle of it. They could clatter and prate of the gospel ; but when all cometh to all,

they joined popery so with it, that they marred all together. They scratched and scraped all the livings of the church, and under a color of religion, turned it to their own proper gain and lucre. God seeing that they would not come unto his word, now he visiteth them in the second time of his visitation, with his wrath ; for the taking away of God's word is a manifest token of his wrath.

We have now a first visitation in England ; let us beware of the second. We have the ministration of his word ; we are yet well : but the house is not clean swept yet. God hath sent us a noble king in this his visitation ; let us not provoke him against us ; let us beware, let us not displease him, let us not be unthankful and unkind, let us beware of by-walking and contemning of God's word, let us pray diligently for our king, let us receive with all obedience and prayer the word of God.

I will tell you what I remembered yesterday in my bed ; a marvellous tale to perceive how inscrutable a man's heart is. I was once at Oxford, (for I had occasion to come that way, when I was in my office;) they told me it was a gainer way, and a fairer way, and by that occasion I lay there a night. Being there, I heard of an execution that was done upon one that suffered for treason. It was, as ye

know, a dangerous world, for it might soon cost a man his life for a word's speaking. I cannot tell what the matter was, but the judge set it so out that the man was condemned : the twelve men came in and said, Guilty ; and upon that he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. When the rope was about his neck, no man could persuade him that he was in any fault ; and stood there a great while in the protestation of his innocence. They hanged him, and cut him down somewhat too soon, afore he was clean dead ; then they drew him to the fire, and he revived ; and then he coming to his remembrance, confessed his fault, and said he was guilty. O, a wonderful example ! It may well be said, “*Pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile,*” A crabbed piece of work, and unsearchable.

THE
FOURTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 29th.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, &c.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

I showed you the last day, most honorable audience, that it was good and lawful for honest, virtuous folk, for God's people, to use the laws of the realm, as an ordinary help against their adversaries, and ought to take them as God's holy ordinances, for the remedies of their injuries and wrongs, when they are distressed: so that they do it charitably, lovingly, not of malice, not vengeably, not covetously.

I should have told you here of a certain sect of heretics that speak against this order and doctrine; they will have no magistrates nor

judges on the earth. Here I have to tell you, what I heard of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshipful man, of a town in this realm of England, that hath above five hundred heretics of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said.

And will you know where this town is ? I will not tell you directly ; I will put you to muse a little ; I will utter the matter by circumlocution. Where is it ? Where the bishop of the diocese is an unpreaching prelate. Who is that ? If there be but one such in all England, it is easy to guess ; and if there were no more but one, yet it were too many by one ; and if there be more, they have the more to answer for, that they suffer in this realm an unpreaching prelate unreformed.

There was a merry monk in Cambridge in the college that I was in, and it chanced a great company of us to be together, intending to make good cheer, and to be merry, (as scholars will be merry when they are disposed.) One of the company brought out this sentence : “ *Nil melius quam ·lætari, et facere bene,* ” There is nothing better than to be merry, and to do well. “ A vengeance of that ‘ *bene*, ’ ” quoth the monk, “ I would that ‘ *bene* ’ had been banished beyond the sea. And that ‘ *bene* ’ were out, it were well, for I could be merry,

and I could do, but I love not to do well : that ‘bene’ mars all together. I would ‘bene’ were out,” quoth the merry monk, “for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure.” Indeed it were better for them if it were out, and it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is ; it will be a heavy ‘bene’ to some of them, when they shall come to their account. But peradventure you will say, “What, and they preach not at all ? yet ‘præsunt ;’ are they not worthy double honor ? Is it not an honorable order they be in ?” Nay a horrible misorder ; it is a horror rather than an honor, and horrible rather than honorable, if the preacher be naught and do not his duty. And thus go these prelates about to wrestle for honor, that the devil may take his pleasure in slandering the realm, and that it may be reported abroad, that we breed heresies among ourselves. It is to be thought that some of them would have it so, to bring in popery again.

This I fear me is their intent, and it shall be blown abroad to our holy father of Rome’s ears, and he shall send forth his thunderbolts upon these bruits ; and all this doth come to pass through their unpreaching prelacy.

Are they not worthy double honor ? Nay rather double dishonor, not to be regarded, not

to be esteemed among the people, and to have no living at their hands. For as good preachers be worthy double honor, so unpreaching prelates be worthy double dishonor. They must be at their doublets. But now these two dishonors, what be they ? Our Saviour Christ doth shew : “*Si sal infatuatus fuerit, ad nihil ultra valet nisi ut projiciatur foras,*” If the salt be unsavory, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden of men. (Matt. v.) By this salt is understood preachers, and such as have cure of souls. What be they worthy then ? Wherefore serve they ? For nothing else but to be cast out.

Make them quondams,* out with them, cast them out of their office ; what should they do with cures that will not look to them ? Another dishonor is this, “*Ut conculcentur ab hominibus,*” To be trodden under men’s feet ; not to be regarded, not to be esteemed : they be at their doublets still. St. Paul, in his epistle, qualifieth a bishop, and saith that he must be, “*Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum aptus,*” To teach, and to confute all manner of false doctrine. But what shall a man do with aptness, if he do not use it ? It were as good for us to be without it.

* A quondam is a person who is no longer in office, whether by resignation or deprivation ; and by doublets are meant pluralities.

A bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certain sermon that I made in this place. His chaplain had complained against me, because I had spoken against unpreaching prelates. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "he made so indifferent a sermon the first day that I thought he would mar all the second day: he will have every man a quondam, as he is." As for my quondamship, I thank God that he gave me the grace to come by it by so honest a means as I did. I thank him for mine own quondamship; and as for them, I would not have them made quondams, if they discharge their office. I would have them do their duty. I would have no more quondams, as God help me. I owe them no more malice than this, and that is none at all.

This bishop answered his chaplain: "Well, says he, well, I did wisely to-day; for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered me that I had neither said mass nor matins, and home-ward I gat as fast as I could, and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful sermon alone." Unfruitful, saith one; another saith, seditious. Well, unfruitful is the best, and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell, it lieth not in me to make it fruitful; and if God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do you but little good. I am God's instrument but for

a time ; it is he that must give the increase. And yet preaching is necessary : for take away preaching, and take away salvation. I told you of “*Scala cœli*,” and I made it a preaching matter, not a massing matter. Christ is the preacher of all preachers, the pattern and the exemplar that all preachers ought to follow. For it was he by whom the Father of heaven said, “*Hic est filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite,*” This is my well-beloved son, hear him. Even he, when he was here on the earth, as wisely, as learnedly, as circumspectly as he preached, yet his seed fell in three parts, so that the fourth part only was fruitful. And if he had no better luck than was preacher of all preachers, what shall we look for ? Yet was there no lack in him, but in the ground. And so now there is no fault in preaching ; the lack is in the people, that have stony hearts and thorny hearts ; I beseech God to amend them. And as for these folk that speak against me, I never look to have their good word as long as I live : yet will I speak of their wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak : as long as I live I will be an enemy to it. No preachers can pass it over with silence : it is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill will, but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him.

Surely, methink, if a judge would follow but a worldly reason, and weigh the matter politicly, he should fear more the hurt that may be done him by a poor widow, or a miserable man, than by the greatest gentleman of them all. God hath pulled the judges' skins over their heads for the poor man's sake. Yea, the poor widow may do him more hurt with her poor Pater-noster in her mouth than any other weapon ; and with two or three words shall bring him down to the ground, and destroy his jollity, and cause him to lose more in one day, than he gat in seven years.

Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell ;—that the devil would allow a man to look into hell, to see the state of it, as he shewed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness ; “ Commonstrat illi omnia regna mundi,” He shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and all their jollity, and told him that he would give him all, if he would kneel down and worship him. (Matt. iv.) He lied like a false harlot, he could not give them, he was not able to give so much as a goose wing, for they were none of his to give ; the other that he promised them unto, had more right to them than he. But I say, if one were admitted to view hell thus, and behold it thoroughly, the devil would say ; “ On yonder side are punish-

ed unpreaching prelates ;” I think a man should see as far as a kenning, and see nothing but unpreaching prelates. He might look as far as Calais, I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shew where that bribing judges were, I think he should see so many, that there were scant room for any other. Our Lord amend it.

I spake of this gear the last day, and of some I had little thank for my labor. I smelld some folks that were grieved with me for it, because I spake against temerarious judgment. “What hath he to do with judgment ?” say they. I went about to keep you from arrogant judgment. Well, I could have said more than I did, and I can say much more now. For why ? I know more of my lord admiral’s* death sith that time than I did know before. O, say they, The man died very boldly, he would not have done so, had he not been in a just quarrel. I will go further with you now. If I should have said all that I knew, your ears would have irked to have heard it; and now God hath brought more to light. And as touching the kind of his death, whether he be saved

* This is an allusion to the case of Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudley, and high admiral of England, who had recently been attainted of high treason, and sentenced to death, which judgment was put in execution on Tower Hill.

or no, I refer that to God only. What God can do, I can tell. I will not deny but he may, in the twinkling of an eye, save a man, and turn his heart. What he did, I cannot tell. And when a man hath two strokes with an axe, who can tell that between two strokes he doth repent ? It is very hard to judge. Well, I will not go so nigh to work ; but this I will say, if they ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly.

The man being in the Tower wrote certain papers which I saw myself. They were two little ones, one to my Lady Mary's grace, and another to my Lady Elizabeth's grace, tending to this end, that they should conspire against my lord protector's grace. Surely so seditiously as could be.

Now, what a kind of death was this, that when he was ready to lay his head upon the block, he turns me to the lieutenant's servant, and saith, " Bid my servant speed the thing that he wots of." Well, the word was overheard. His servant confessed these two papers, and they were found in a shoe of his. They were sown between the soles of a velvet shoe. He made his ink so craftily, and with such workmanship, as the like hath not been seen.

I was prisoner in the Tower myself, and I

could never invent to make ink so. It is a wonder to hear of his subtlety. He made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose, and thus wrote these letters so seditiously, as ye have heard, enforcing many matters against my lord protector's grace, and so forth. God had left him to himself: he had clean forsaken him. What would he have done, if he had lived still, that went about this gear when he laid his head on the block at the end of his life? Charity, they say, worketh: but godly, not after this sort. Well, he is gone; he knoweth his fare by this time. He is either in joy or in pain. There is but two states, if we be once gone. There is no change. There is no repentance after this life. But if he die in the state of damnation, he shall rise in the same; yea, though he have a whole monstery to sing for him. He shall have his final sentence when he dieth.

And that servant of his, that confessed and uttered this gear, was an honest man. He did honestly in it. God put it in his heart. And as for the other, whether he be saved or no, I leave it to God. But surely he was a wicked man; the realm was well rid of him. It hath a treasure that he is gone. He knoweth his fare by this.

A terrible example, surely, and to be noted

of every man. Now before he should die, I heard say he had commendations to the king, and spake many words of his majesty. All is “The king, the king.” Yea, “Bona verba,” These were fair words, “The king, the king.”

I have heard much wickedness of this man, and I thought oft, Jesu, what will worth, what will be the end of this man? He was a man the farthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England. I have heard say, he was of the opinion that he believed not the immortality of the soul; that he was not right in that matter. And it might well appear by the taking of his death.—But ye will say, What! Ye slander him; ye break charity. Nay, it is charity that I do. We can have no better use of him now than to warn other to beware by him. Thus may this man be an example to us. Let us all subjects judge well of our magistrates in such matters, and be content with their doings, and look not to be of the council. And thus took I occasion to speak of him, and to profit you thereby; and I beseech you so to take it. He may be a good warning to us; and this is the best use that we can have of him now.

I was travailed in the Tower myself, (with the king’s commandment and the council,) and there was Sir Robert Constable, the Lord

Hussey, the Lord Darcy ; and the Lord Darcy was telling me of the faithful service that he had done the king's majesty that dead is. "And I had seen my sovereign lord in the field, (said he,) and I had seen his grace come against us, I would have lighted from my horse, and taken my sword by the point, and yielded it into his grace's hands." Marry, (quoth I,) but in the mean season ye played not the part of a faithful subject, in holding with the people in a commotion and a disturbance. It hath been the cast of all traitors to pretend nothing against the king's person ; they never pretend the matter to the king, but to other. Subjects may not resist any magistrates, nor ought to do nothing contrary to the king's laws ; and therefore these words, "The king," and so forth, are of small effect.

I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Oxford twenty years ago, and the like hath been since in this realm, as I was informed of credible persons, and some of them that saw it be alive yet. There was a priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were two or three attached for the same robbery, and to be brief, were condemned, and brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was upon the ladder, denied the matter utterly, and took his death upon it, that he

never consented to the robbery of the priest, nor never knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow cometh, and maketh his protestation, and acknowledged the fault ; saying, that among other grievous offences that he had done, he was accessory to this robbery ; and, saith he, “ I had my part of it, I cry God mercy : so had this fellow that died before me his part.” Now who can judge whether this fellow died well or no ? Who can judge a man’s heart ? The one denied the matter, and the other confessed it : there is no judging of such matters.

What should it mean, that God would have us so diligent and earnest in prayer ? Hath he such pleasure in our works ? Many talk of prayer, and make it a lip-laboring. Praying is not babbling ; nor praying is not monkery. It is, to miserable folk that are oppressed, a comfort, solace, and a remedy. But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God ? It lieth not in our power ; we must have it by another mean.

This is not the missal sacrifice, the popish sacrifice, to stand at the altar, and offer up Christ again. Out upon it that ever it was used ! I will not say nay, but that ye shall find in the old doctors this word “ Sacrificium ;” but there is one general solution for all the

doctors, that St. Augustine sheweth us: “The sign of a thing hath oftentimes the name of the thing that it signifieth.” As the supper of the Lord is the sacrament of another thing, it is a commemoration of his death, which suffered once for us ; and because it is a sign of Christ’s offering up, therefore it bears the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man ; yea, a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as hath the bishop in his pontificalibus, with his mitre on his head, his rings on his fingers, and sandals on his feet. And whosoever cometh asking the Father remedy in his necessity, for Christ’s sake, he offereth up as acceptable a sacrifice as any bishop can do.

Faith is a great state, a lady, a duchess, a great woman ; and she hath ever a great company and train about her, as a noble estate ought to have. First, she hath a gentleman-usher that goeth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady Faith. This gentleman-usher is called “Agnitio peccatorum,” Knowledge of sin ; when we enter into our heart, and acknowledge our faults, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winkers, he kicks not when he hears his fault. Now as the gentleman-usher goeth before her, so she hath a train that cometh behind her ; and yet,

though they come behind, they be all of Faith's company, they are all with her: as Christ, when he counterfeited a state going to Jerusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these wait upon Faith, she hath a great train after her, besides her gentleman-usher, her whole household; and those be the works of our vocation, when every man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the works of the same; as, to be good to his neighbour, to obey God, &c. This is the train that followeth Lady Faith: as for an example; a faithful judge hath first a heavy reckoning of his fault, repenting himself of his wickedness, and then forsaketh his iniquity, his impiety, feareth no man, walks upright; and he that doth not thus, hath not Lady Faith, but rather a boldness of sin, and abusing of Christ's passion. Lady Faith is never without her gentleman-usher, nor without her train; she is no anchoress,* she dwells not alone, she is never a private woman, she is never alone. And yet many there be that boast themselves that they have faith, and that when Christ shall come they shall do well enough.

There was never such marrying in England

* A female recluse.

as is now. I hear tell of stealing of wards to marry their children to. This is a strange kind of stealing; but it is not the wards, it is the lands that they steal. And some there be that knit up marriages together, not for any love or godliness in the parties, but to get friendship, and make them strong in the realm, to increase their possessions, and to join land to land. And other there be that inveigle men's daughters, in the contempt of their fathers, and go about to marry them without their consent: this marrying is ungodly. And many parents constrain their sons and daughters to marry where they love not, and some are beaten and compelled. And they that marry thus, marry in a forgetfulness and obliviousness of God's commandments.

THE
FIFTH SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,

APRIL 5th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

I will now for this day return to my question, and dissolve it, whether God's people may be governed by a governor that beareth the name of a king, or no ? The Jews had a law, that when they should have a king, they should have him according to the election of God : he would not leave the election of a king to their own brains. There be some busy brains, wanton wits, that say the name of a king is an odious name, and wrest the text of Scripture, where God seemeth to be angry and displeased with the Israelites for asking a king,

expounding it very evil and odiously ; as who would say, a king were an odious thing. I coming riding in my way, and calling to remembrance wherefore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach before the king's majesty, I thought it meet to frame my preaching according to a king. Musing of this, I remembered a book that came from cardinal Pole,* master Pole, the king's traitor, which he sent to the king's majesty. I never remember that man, methink, but I remember him with a heavy

* Reginald Pole was descended from the blood-royal of England, being a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, cousin-german to Henry VII., by Margaret, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, younger brother of Edward IV. He was educated for the church, and at the age of seventeen had two deaneries. About this time he went to Italy, where he greatly improved himself in learning. On his return to England he would have obtained the highest preferments, had it not been for his opposition to the king's divorce from Catharine of Arragon. To avoid the royal displeasure, he went abroad, and in 1536 was made a cardinal, for which he was proclaimed a traitor, and a price put upon his head. In 1549, he lost the popedom when offered him, by telling the cardinals to do nothing rashly. This offended them so much that they chose cardinal de Monte, who assumed the name of Julius III. On the accession of Mary, he was recalled to England, and when Cranmer was deposed, obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury. The cardinal died Nov. 18, 1558.

heart ; a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house ; so in favor, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been bishop of York at this day. To be bidden-by,* he would have done much good in that part of the realm, for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man, and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way. I hear say, he readeth much St. Jerome's works, and is well seen in them ; but I would he would follow St. Jerome, where he expoundeth this place of Scripture ; “*Exite de illâ, populus meus :*” Almighty God saith, Get you from it, get you from Rome ; he calleth it the purple whore of Babylon. It had been more commendable to go from it, than to come to it. What his sayings be in his book, I do not well remember ; it is in the farthest end of my memory. He declareth himself in it, to have a corrupt judgment. I have but a glimmering of it, yet in general I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to dissuade the king from his supremacy. In his persuasions he is very homely, very quick, and sharp with the king, as these cardinals will

* The same as the common phrase, “ by the by.”

take well upon them. He saith, that a king is an odious word, and toucheth the place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a king. Very lightly he seemeth to set forth the title of a king. As though he should mean : What is a king ? What should a king take upon him to redress matters of religion ? It pertaineth to our holy father of Rome.

I told you before of “*scala cœli*,” the ladder of heaven ; I would you should not forget it. The steps thereof are set forth in the tenth to the Romans. The first is preaching, then hearing, then believing, and last of all salvation. “*Scala cœli*” is a preaching matter, I tell you, and not a massing matter. God’s instrument of salvation is preaching. Here I move you, my lords, not to be greedy and outrageous in enhancing and raising of your rents, to the minishing of the office of salvation. It would pity a man’s heart to hear that, that I hear of the state of Cambridge ; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few do study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges, for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go other where to seek livings ; and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas ! What is that ? It will come to pass that we shall have noth-

ing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I wis, that will keep out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so much to the finding of scholars of good wits, of poor men's sons, to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholars, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters. Ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully, but this was not well spent. You had a zeal, but not “secundum scientiam,” not according to knowledge. You may be sure, if you bestow your goods on this wise, ye shall bestow it well, to support and uphold God's word, wherein ye shall please God. I require no more, but that ye bestow so much godly, as ye were wont to bestow ungodly. It is a reasonable petition, for God's sake look upon it; I say no more. There be none now but great men's sons in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers; so every way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speak no more of “scala cœli.” But I am sure this is “scala inferni,” the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would shew him this way. First, let him be a covet-

ous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness. Then let him go a little further, and take bribes, and last pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother, and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mother, she brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking, perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which, so God help me, if I were judge, should be “hangum tuum,” a Tyburn tippet to take with him: and it were the judge of the king's bench, my lord chief judge of England, yea, and it were my lord chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him.—There was within these thirty years a certain widow, which suddenly was attached, had to prison, indicted, condemned, and there were certain learned men that visited her in the prison. Oh, I would ye would resort to prisons; a commendable thing in a christain realm. I would wish there were curates for prisons, that we might say, the curate of Newgate, the curate of the Fleet, and I would have them well waged for their labor. It is a holyday work to visit the prisoners, for they be kept from sermons. There was that resorted to this woman, who when she came to prison, was all on her beads, and nothing else, a popish woman, and savored not of Jesu Christ. In process she was so applied, that she tasted “quam suavis est Domi-

nus ;" she had such a savor, such a sweetness and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. She was with Christ already, as touching faith ; she had such a desire that she said with St. Paul, "Cupio dissolvi et essecum Christo," I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ ; the word of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she desired to confess her fault ; she took of her death, that she was guiltless in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would have borne her witness in the same. She was always an honest, civil woman ; her neighbours would have gone on her purgation a great way. They would needs have her confess ; then said she, I am not guilty, would ye have me make me guilty when I am not ? Yet for all this she was a trespasser, she had done a great offence.

But before I go forward with this, I must first tell you a tale. I heard a good while ago, a tale of one, (I saw the man that told me the tale not long ago in this auditory ; he hath travelled in more countries than one;) he told me that there was once a pretor in Rome, lord mayor of Rome, a rich man, one of the richest merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast in the castle Angel. It was heard of, and every man whispered in another's ear ; "What hath he done ? Hath he killed any

man?" No. "Hath he meddled with alum, our holy father's merchandise?" No. "Hath he counterfeited our holy father's bulls?" No. For these were high treasons. One rounded another in the ear and said: "Erat dives," He was a rich man;—a great fault! Here was a goodly prey for that holy father. It was in pope Julius's time, he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our holy father.

So this woman was "Dives:" she was a rich woman, she had her lands by the sheriff's nose. He was a gentleman of a long nose. Such a cup, such a cover! She would not depart from her own. This sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The judge, at the empannelling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this: "It was the king's matter, look well upon it." When it makes, for their purpose, they have The king, The king, in their mouths. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of angels* between them. I would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have the skin hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of the judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife to all judges that should follow after.

* A gold coin, which bore the figure of an angel stamped on it, and was worth about ten shillings.

Lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever childing, and ever bringing forth her fruits. It is a true saying, “*Radix omnium malorum avaritia,*” Covetousness is the root of all wickedness.” One will say, “Peradventure, you speak unseemly and inconveniently, so to be against the officers, for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom. Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again, but by bribing? Ye would have them undone. Some of them gave two hundred pound, some five hundred pound, some two thousand pound. And how shall they gather up this money again, but by helping themselves in their office?” And is it so, trow ye? Are civil offices bought for money? Lord God! who would have thought that? Let us not be too hasty to credit it. For then we have the old proverb, “*Omnia venalia Romæ,*” All things are sold for money at Rome; and Rome is come home to our own doors. If they buy, they must needs sell; for it is wittily spoken: “*Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius,*” He may lawfully sell it, he bought it before. God forfend, that ever any such enormity should be in England, that civil offices should be bought and sold; whereas men should have them given them for their worthiness. I would the

king's majesty should seek through his realm for meet men, and able men, worthy to be in office, yea, and give them liberally for their pains ; and rather give them money to take the office in hand, than they to give money for it. This buying of offices is a making of bribery ; it is an inducing and enforcing and compelling of men to bribery.

This cometh from the devil's consistory, to pay five hundred pound for one office. If they pay so much, it must needs follow that they take bribes, that they be bribe-takers. Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competent and liberal fees, that they shall not need to take any bribes. And if ye be a selling civil offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices, and so we shall have "omnia venalia," all things bought for money. I marvel the ground gapes not and devours us ; howbeit we ought not to marvel, surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. Oh Lord, in what case are we ? If the great men in Turkey should use in their religion of Mahomet to sell, as our patrons commonly sell benefices here, (the office of preaching, the office of salvation,) it should be taken as an intolerable thing ; the Turk would not suffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons be charged to see the office done, and not to seek a lucre and a gain by their patronship.

There was a patron in England, (when it was,) that had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labor, to make up the game, and so there was thirty-one. This man cometh to his master and presented him with the dish of apples ; saying, Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush, tush, quoth he, this is no apple matter ; I will none of his apples, I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine own orchard. The man came to the priest again, and told him what his master said. Then, quoth the priest, desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake ; he shall find them much better than they look for. He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not far off, hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, They are all one fruit, I warrant you, sir ; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. Well, he is a good fellow, let him have it, quoth the patron.

Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St.

Paul's learning. Well, let patrons take heed, for they shall answer for all the souls that perish through their default. There is a saying, that there be a great many in England, that say there is no soul, that believe not in the immortality of man's soul, that think it is not eternal, but like a dog's soul, that think there is neither heaven nor hell. O Lord, what a weighty matter is this! What a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth! I cannot tell what they say, but I perceive by their works that they think so, or else they would never do as they do. These sellers of offices shew, that they believe that there is neither hell nor heaven: it is taken for a laughing matter.

It is a dangerous thing to be in office; for "Qui attingit picem, coquinabitur ab eâ," He that meddleth with pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be resembled to pitch; for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, so bribes will bring you to perverting of justice. Beware of pitch, you judges of the world; bribes will make you pervert justice.

Why, you will say, we touch none. No, marry, but my mistress your wife hath a fine finger, she toucheth it for you; or else you have a servant "a muneribus;" he will say, "If you will come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse; but I

think my master will take none." When he hath offered them to the master, then comes another servant and says, "If you will bring them to the clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better." This is a friarly fashion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put upon their sleeves; a goodly rag of popish religion! They be like Gray Friars, that will not be seen to receive bribes themselves, but have others to receive for them.

I heard of late of a notable bloodshed. "Audio," saith St. Paul; and so do I: I know it not, but I hear of it. There was a searcher* in London, which executing his office, displeased a merchantman, insomuch that when he was doing his office they were at words: the merchant threatened him; the searcher said, the king should not lose his custom. The merchant goes me home, and sharpens his wood-knife, and comes again, and knocks him on the head, and kills him. They that told me the tale, say it is winked at; they look through their fingers and will not see it. Whether it be taken up with a pardon, or no, I cannot tell; but this I am sure, and if ye bear with such matters, the devil shall bear you away to hell.

* A Searcher is an officer in the customs.

Bloodshed and murder would have no bearing. It is a heinous thing, bloodshedding, and especially voluntary murder, and prepensed murder. For in Numbers, God saith, It polluteth the whole realm ; “*Polluitur illâ terra, &c., et non potest expiari sine sanguine,*” The land cannot be purified nor cleansed again, till his blood be shed that shed it. It is the office of a king to see such murderers punished with death ; for “*Non frustra gestat gladium,*” He is not to bear the sword in vain. What will you make of a king ? He beareth a sword before him, not a peacock’s feather. I go not about to stir you now to cruelty ; but I speak against the bearing of bloodshed : this bearing must be looked upon. In certain cases of murder, such great circumstances may be, that the king may pardon a murder. But if I were worthy to be of counsel, or if I were asked mine advice, I would not have the king to pardon a voluntary murder, a prepensed murder.

I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same. Twelve men were empanneled : the man had friends : the sheriff labored the bench : the twelve men stuck at it, and said, Except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty. Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The quest comes in, and

says, Not guilty. Here was a Not guilty for twelve crowns.

This is a bearing; and some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to do murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till we come to our enemies, and the king bid us fight. He that would bestir him then, were a pretty fellow indeed. Crowns! If their crowns were shaven to the shoulders, they were served well enough.

There was a certain gentleman, a professor of the word of God, (he sped never the better for that, ye may be sure,) who was accused for murdering of a man, whereupon he was cast into prison; and by chance, as he was in prison, one of his friends came unto him for to visit him; and he declared to his friend that he was never guilty in the murdering of the man: so he went his ways. The gentleman was arraigned and condemned; and as he went to his execution, he saw his friend's servant, and said unto him, Commend me to thy master, and I pray thee tell him, I am the same man still I was when he was with me: and if thou tarry a while, thou shalt see me die. There was suit made for this man's pardon, but it could not be gotten; belike the sheriffs or some other, bare him no good will. But he died for it. And afterward, I being in the Tower,

having leave to come to the lieutenant's table, I heard him say, that there was a man hanged afterward, that killed the same man for whom this gentleman was put to death. O Lord, what bearing, what bolstering of naughty matters is this in a Christian realm! I desire your majesty to remedy the matter, and God grant you to see redress in this realm in your own person; although my lord protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the council do, in the mean while, all that lieth in them to redress things. I would such as be rulers, noblemen, and masters, should be at this point with their servants, to certify them on this sort: If any man go about to do you wrong, I will do my best to help you in your right: but if ye break the law, ye shall have justice. If ye will be manquellers, murderers, and transgressors, look for no bearing at my hands.

THE
SIXTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
APRIL 12th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

I chanced to shew you, most honorable audience, this day sennight, what I heard of a man that was slain ; and I hear say it was not well taken. Forsooth, I intended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I said I heard but of such a thing, and took occasion by that that I heard, to speak against the thing that I knew to be naught, that no man should bear with any man to the maintenance of voluntary and prepensed murder. And I hear say since, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for him,

are honest men. I am inclinable enough to credit it. I spake not because I would have any man's honesty impaired. I did not affirm it to be true that I heard. I spake it to advertise you to beware of bearing with wilful and prepensed murder. I would have nothing enforced against any man: this was mine intent and meaning. I do not know what ye call chance-medley in the law, it is not for my study. I am a scholar in God's book, I study that.

I heard say since of another murder, that a Spaniard should kill an Englishman, and run him through with his sword. They say he was a tall man. But I hear not that the Spaniard was hanged for his labor; if I had, I would have told you it too.

There be such dicing houses now-a-days, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of God, let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise,) they were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into gossing, gulling, and whoring within the house.

The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm; it is a gift of God that he hath given us to excel all other nations withal; it hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies. But now we have taken up whoring in towns,* instead of shooting in the

* Of the manners of the youth of that time, Stowe says, "The youth of this city have used on holydays, after evening prayer, at their masters' doors to exercise their bucklers; and the maidens, one of them playing on a timbrel, in the sight of their masters and mistresses, to dance for garlands hung across the streets. Which open pastimes in my youth being suppressed, worser practices within doors are to be feared." Again the same honest chronicler, speaking of the sports of the youthful citizens before this change, says: "After dinner they used to go into the fields, and play at the ball. Every Friday in Lent, the young men, with disarmed lances and shields, used to practice feats of war. In Easter holydays, they used to fight battles on the water; a shield was hanged on a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream, a boat was prepared without oars, to be carried by the violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge with his lance. If so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed; but if he chances to be flung into the water, then he loses his honor, and it occasioneth the spectators to laugh. In the summer season they exercised themselves in leaping, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields, with many other such like feats of activity. In the winter

fields. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed! I desire you, my lords, even as ye love the honor and glory of God, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the justices of peace, for they do not their duty: justices now be no justices. There be many good acts made for this matter already. Charge them upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be practised, and that it be not turned into bowling, glossing, and whoring within the towns; for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with strength of the body. I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger; for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it. It is a goodly art, a whole-

they never omitted the wholesome exercises of sliding, and skating on the great fen or moor, which was where Moorfields now are."—*Stowe's Survey of London.*

some kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.

Marsilius Ficinus,* in his book “*De triplici vitâ,*” (it is a great while since I read him now,) but I remember he commendeth this kind of exercise, and saith, that it wrestleth against many kinds of diseases. In the reverence of God, let it be continued; let a proclamation go forth, charging the justices of peace, that they see such acts and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose.

We cannot be saved without hearing of the word; it is a necessary way to salvation. “We cannot be saved without faith, and faith cometh by hearing of the word. ‘*Fides ex auditu.*’ And how shall they hear without a preacher?” I tell you it is the footstep of the ladder of heaven; of our salvation. There must be preachers if we look to be saved. I told you of this gradation before, in the tenth to the Romans: consider it well. I had rather ye

* Marsilius Ficinus, the reviver of the Platonic philosophy, was a native of Florence, where his father was physician to Cosmo de Medici. Marsilius was bred to the same profession, but Cosmo was so pleased with him that he gave him a residence in his palace, to complete a translation of Plato’s works, upon which he was employed five years. He afterwards took orders, and obtained several benefices from Lorenzo de Medici. He died in 1499.

should come of a naughty mind to hear the word of God, for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than to be away. I had rather ye should come as the tale is by the gentlewoman of London: one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, Mistress, whither go ye? "Marry," said she, "I am going to St. Thomas of Acres* to the sermon; I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there." And so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at all. For with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance to be caught ere ye go; the preacher may chance to catch you on his hook. Rather than ye should not come at all, I would have you come of curiosity, as St. Augustine came to hear St. Ambrose. When St. Augustine came to Milan, (he tells the story himself, in the end of his book of Confessions,) he was very desirous to hear St. Ambrose; not for any love he had to the doctrine that he taught, but

* This was an hospital in Cheapside, and situate nigh the ground whereon since has been built Mercers' Hall and Chapel. It had a master and brethren, and was sold and surrendered by Henry the Eighth to the Company of Mercers. It is called in old records St. Thomas of Acon.

to hear his eloquence, whether it was so great as the speech was, and as the bruit went. Well, before he departed, St. Ambrose caught him on his hook, and converted him so, that he became of a Manichee,* and of a Platonist, a good Christian, a defender of Christ's religion, and of the faith afterward. So I would have you to come to sermons. It is declared in many more places of Scripture, how necessary preaching is, as this: "Evangelium est potentia Dei, ad salutem omni credenti," The preaching of the gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe. He means God's word opened; it is the instrument, and the thing whereby we are saved.

Here you may see how necessary this office is to our salvation. This is the thing that the devil wrestleth most against: it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can: he hath prevailed

* Manicheism was a compound of the various opinions of the Gnostics, Marcionites, and grosser Platonists. The principal point of this system consisted in the assertion of two counteracting principles, one of good, the other of evil. The Manichees pretended that the law of Moses came from the evil one; and, consequently, they professed only to receive the Gospels, to which, however, they gave a very corrupt sense by adapting it to their peculiar fancies.

too much, too much in it. He hath set up a state of unpreaching prelacy in this realm this seven hundred year, a stately unpreaching prelacy: he hath made unpreaching prelates; he hath stirred up by heaps to persecute this office in the title of heresy. He hath stirred up the magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedition; and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with exprobations and slanderous words, as by the name of new learning, strange preaching; and with impropriations he hath turned preaching into private masses. If a priest should have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England should have wondered at it; but they might have left off the sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed. And thus by these impropriations private masses were set up, and preaching of God's word trodden under foot. But what doth he now? What doth he now? He stirs men up to outrageous rearing of rents, that poor men shall not be able to find their children at the school to be divines.

What an unreasonable devil is this! He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come: he hath brought up now of late, the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of: he hath invented fee-

farming of benefices,* and all to decay this office of preaching ; insomuch that, when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withal ; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit and play at the tables all the day. A goodly curate !

He hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, patrons to sell their benefices. Yea, what doth he more ? He gets him to the university ; and causeth great men and esquires to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be divines ; for their parents intend not that they shall be preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning. But it were too long to declare unto you what deceit and means the devil hath found to decay the office of salvation, this office of regeneration.

But to return to my matter : The people came to hear the word of God, they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of St. Chrysostom, and peradventure it might come hereafter in better place : but yet I will take it whilst it cometh to mind : the saying is this,

* Land held of another in fee, that is, forever, to himself and his heirs, for a certain yearly rent, more or less ; as to a half, third, or fourth of the value.

“ *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio, sermonem locutionis non interruptentes:*” They heard him, saith he, in silence, not interrupting the order of his preaching. He means they heard him quietly, without any shovelling of feet, or walking up and down. Surely it is an ill mis-order that folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon time, (as I have seen in this place* this Lent;) and there shall be such huzzing and buzzing in the preacher’s ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter.

O let us consider the king’s majesty’s goodness. This place was prepared for banqueting of the body; and his majesty hath made it a place for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby that he would have all his subjects at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the king’s majesty hath done for you; he alloweth you all to hear with him. Consider where ye be. First, ye ought to have a reverence to God’s word;

* A pulpit cross, like that on the south side of St. Paul’s, was occasionally erected in the inner garden of the new palace at Westminster, which on such occasions was called the preaching place. It appears, by what Bishop Latimer says of the walking to and fro, and the buzzing of the people, that it was a place of common resort. The king, when present at the sermon, heard from a window, which opened fronting the preacher.

and though it be preached by poor men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake. Consider also the presence of the king's majesty, God's high vicar in earth ; having a respect to his personage, ye ought to have a reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearing of God's word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in silence, as Chrysostom saith. It may chance that some in the company may fall sick or be diseased ; if there be any such, let them go away with silence, let them leave their salutations till they come in the court, let them depart with silence. I took occasion of Chrysostom's words to admonish you of this thing.

What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boat ? The Scripture calleth it "navis" or "navicula," a ship, a little ship. But it was no ship, it was a fisher's boat ; they were not able to have a ship. What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bank and preach there, but he desired Peter to draw the boat somewhat from the shore into the midst of the water ; what should be the cause ? One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously, than on the bank : another cause was, for that he was

like to be thrust into the pond of the people that came unto him. Why, our Saviour Christ might have withstood them, he was strong enough to have kept himself from thrusting into the water. He was stronger than they all, and if he had listed he might have stood on the water, as well as he walked on the water. Truth it is, so might he have done indeed. But as it was sometimes his pleasure to shew the power of his godhead, so he declared now the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

Well, he comes to Simon's boat. And why rather to Simon's boat than another? I will answer, as I find in experience in myself. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me: I took one of them. Now ye will ask me why I came in that boat rather than another? Because I would go into that that I see stand next me; it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat: it stood nearer for him, he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason.

Now come the papists, and they will make a mystery of it: they will pick out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every place in

Scripture : but surely it must needs be a simple matter that standeth on so weak a ground.

It followeth in the text, “ Sedens docebat de navi.” He taught sitting. Preachers, belike, were sitters in those days, as it is written in another place, “ Salent in cathedrâ Mosis,” They sit in the chair of Moses.

I would our preachers would preach sitting or standing, one way or other. It was a goodly pulpit that our Saviour Christ had gotten him here ; an old rotten boat ; and yet he preached his Father’s will, his Father’s message out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he might do the people good. Indeed, it is to be commended for the preacher to stand or sit, as the place is; but I would not have it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree.* And yet if this should be done, the unpreaching prelates would laugh it to scorn. And though it be good to have the pulpit set up in churches, that the people may resort thither, yet I would not have it so superstitiously used, but that in a

* In the time of Ket’s rebellion in Norfolk, Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, got up into the oak that was called the tree of reformation, and preached a sermon to the insurgents, exhorting them to return to their duty.

profane place the word of God might be preached sometimes ; and I would not have the people offended withal, no more than they be with our Saviour Christ's preaching out of a boat. And yet to have pulpits in churches, it is very well done to have them ; but they would be occupied, for it is a vain thing to have them as they stand in many churches.

I heard of a bishop of England that went on visitation, and as it was the custom, when the bishop should come, and be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it in the visitation. The bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves, as well as they could : It was a chance, said they, that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by, we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be amended as shortly as may be.

Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he comes me to the bishop. "Why" my lord, saith he, "doth your lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper ? Here is a bell, saith he,

and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of this benefice fifty pounds every year, but we never see him."

I warrant you the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scant had the name of God's service. They must sing "Salve, festa dies," about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shew their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holyday, and methought it was a holyday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there, the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, "Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Rob-

in Hood : I pray you let them not." I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not. But it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men.

It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter ; under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor, and a thief, to put out a preacher, to have his office less esteemed, to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word. And all this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had such corrupt judgments in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the bishops had been preachers, there should never have been any such thing. But we have a good hope of better. We have had a good beginning, I beseech God to continue it. But I tell you, it is far wide that the people have such judgments ; the bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them ? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching prelacy.

MISCELLANEOUS
S E L E C T I O N S.

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS.

CHRIST'S CARDS.

I pray you what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman ? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that he will observe his rule. For likewise as he is a good Augustine Friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so he is a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule ? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas ; I will as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And where you are

wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend with God's grace to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be the triumph, (or trump,) which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win ; the players shall likewise win, and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same ; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners and no losers. Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards ; that they may have and obtain the triumph ; you must mark also that the triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of.

The evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine to thrust down these Turks, and to subdue them ? It is a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bound and subject unto a Turk. Nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who shall have the better ; let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whencesoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother, or neighbour, either for unkind words, in-

juries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, “Who art thou?” The answer is, I am a christian man. Then farther we must say to ourselves, “What requireth Christ of a christian man?” Now turn up your trump, your heart, (hearts is trump, as I said before,) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a christian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor otherways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play; but, alas, for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks; the strong castle faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

MARY MAGDALEN.

Considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow

down with her towards Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin ; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven ; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven.

Think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which shall perk and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous and solemn countenance, and being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning their selves more worthy to sit there than another ? I fear me, poor Magdalen, under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have ; for it is like that these Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this ensample, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin, and in offending : but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it.



VOLUNTARY WORKS.

Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the church, except your offering days, and your tithes. Setting up candles, gilding, and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimage, making of high-ways, and such others, be called voluntary works ; which works be of themselves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy, are called commandments ; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy poor neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion ; and leave the necessary works undone, which they are bound to do, they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to the gilding of saints, and honoring of the church, and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks, if thou leave the

works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good, and ought to be done ; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works, and the works of mercy, be not decayed and forgotten. If you will build a glorious church unto God, see first yourselves to be in charity with your neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then when you come into your parish church, you bring with you the temple of God ; as St. Paul saith, " You yourselves be the very holy temples of God." And Christ saith by his prophet, " In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding place." Again, if you list to gild and paint Christ in your churches, and honor him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true temple of God, and honor him in rich vestures, that will never be worn out. Use yourselves according unto the commandments, and then finally set up your candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts ; for it is not fitting to see a dead man light candles. Then, I say, go your pilgrimages, build your material churches, do all your voluntary works, and they will then represent

unto God, and testify with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware, I say again, that you do not run so far into your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep ; you must have ever a good respect unto the best and worthiest works toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily.

THE DEVIL'S ARTILLERY.

Think you not that this our enemy, this prince with all his potentates, hath great and sore assaults to lay against our armour ? Yea, he is a crafty warrior, and also of great power in this world ; he hath great ordnance and artillery, he hath great pieces of ordnance, as mighty kings and emperors, to shoot against God's people, to persecute or kill them, as Nero, the great tyrant, who slew Paul and divers other. Yea, what great pieces hath he had of bishops of Rome, which have destroyed whole cities and countries, and have slain and burnt many ! What great guns were those !

Yea, he hath also less ordnance, evil enough ; they may be called serpentines. Some bishops in divers countries and here in England which he hath shot at, some good christian men that they have been blown to ashes. So can this great captain the devil shoot his ordnance. He hath yet less ordnance, for he hath of all sorts to shoot at good christian men ; he hath hand-guns and bows which do much hurt, but not so much as the great ordnance. These be accusers, promoters and slanderers ; they be evil ordnance, shrewd hand-guns and bows ; they put a man to great displeasure ; oftentimes death cometh upon that shot.

In like manner these men in the North Country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's armour, gird in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds before and behind, and they pretend much truth to the king's grace, and to the commonwealth, when they intend nothing less ; and deceive the poor ignorant people, and bring them to fight against both the king, the church, and the commonwealth.

They arm them with the sign of the cross, and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to him that bore the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise with the king,

and fight against the king in his ministers and officers ; they rise with the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men ; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons each to kill other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretence can the devil send amongst us ! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.

THE NEW LEARNING.

But ye say, It is new learning. Now I tell you it is the old learning. Yea, ye say, It is old heresy new scoured. Now I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured. What a rusty truth is this, “Quodcunque ligaveris,” Whosoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven ? &c. This a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned ; and whosoever did

repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth over-rusted with the pope's rust? For he, by this text, "Whatsoever thou bindest," &c. hath taken upon him to make what laws he listed, clean contrary unto the word of God, which willeth that every man should obey the prince's law. And by this text, " Whatsoever thou loosest," he hath made all people believe, that for money he might forgive what and whom he listed. So that if any man had robbed his master, or taken any thing wrongfully, the pope would loose him, by this pardon or that pardon, given to these friars or those friars, put in this box or that box. And as it were, by these means, a division of the spoil was made, so that it was not restored, nor the person rightly discharged; and yet most part of the spoil came to the hands of him and his ministers. What is this but a new learning, a new canker to rust and corrupt the old truth? Ye call your learning old: it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve; so it is an old custom to pervert God's word, and to rust it, and corrupt it.

CATHERINE PARR.

I have heard say, when that good queen* that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer both before noon and after noon, the admiral getteth him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed; I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an ambitious man; I would there were no more in England. He was I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer; I would there were no more in England. Well he is gone; I would he had left none behind him.

OBSERVANTS.

St. Luke hath “observantes,” observants; that is, watchers, tooters, spies, much like the Observant Friars,† the barefoot friars that

* Catherine Parr, who married the lord admiral Seymour.

† A branch of the order of the Franciscan or Grey Friars, so called, because they bound themselves to a lit-

were here ; which indeed were the bishop of Rome's spies, watching in every country, what was said or done against him. He had it by and by, by one or other of his spies ; they were his men altogether ; his posts to work against the regality. In the court, in the noblemen's houses, at every merchant's house, those observants, were spying, tooting, and looking, watching, and prying, what they might hear or see against the see of Rome. Take heed of these observants. To understand the word "observantes," mark what the poet saith in his comedy, "Observa Davum,"* take heed, beware and mark "Davum ;" for they will be stirring in every town, in every gentleman's house, yea, at their very tables.. Well, be wise, beware of them.

LATIMER'S EXAMINATION.

The highest promotion that God can bring his unto in this life, is to suffer for his truth. And it is the greatest setting forth of his word,

eral and strict observation of the rules of their founder. Some of this order, in greater humility and mortification, went barefoot. In 1534, the Observants, for their clamorous opposition to the divorce and other proceedings, were suppressed in England. * Terence.

it is God's seed. And one suffering for the truth, turneth more than a thousand sermons. I will tell you an example of this, how God giveth mouth and wisdom.

I was once in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling : every week thrice I came to examination, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law ; but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined, into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was before wont to be examined : but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered ; for whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras-hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end ; so that I stood between the table and the chimney's end. There was among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end.

Then among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer ; I pray you,

Master Latimer, said he, speak out : I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney. And, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure work that I should not start from them ; there was no starting from them.

God was my good Lord, and gave me answer ; I could never else have escaped it.

HASTY JUDGMENT.

Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thank him next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and

perceived that I was zealous without knowledge ; and he came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so ; and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.

Now after I had been acquainted with him, I went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower at Cambridge ; for he was ever visiting prisoners and sick folk. So we went together, and exhorted them as well as we were able to do, moving them to patience, and to acknowledge their faults. Among other prisoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied, and could not be brought to confess the act ; which denying gave us occasion to search for the matter, and so we did. And at the length we found that her husband loved her not, and therefore he sought means to make her out of the way. The matter was thus : a child of hers had been sick by the space of a year, and so decayed as it were in a consumption. At the length it died in harvest-time. She went to her neighbours and other friends to desire their help, to prepare the child to the burial ; but there was nobody at home, every man was in the field.

The woman, in a heaviness and trouble of spirit went, and being herself alone prepared the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, not having great love towards her, accused her of the murder ; and so she was taken and brought to Cambridge. But as far forth as I could learn, through earnest inquisition, I thought in my conscience the woman was not guilty, all the circumstances well considered.

Immediately after this, I was called to preach before the king,* which was my first sermon that I made before his majesty, and it was done at Windsor ; where his majesty, after the sermon was done, did most familiarly talk with me in a gallery. Now when I saw my time, I kneeled down before his majesty, opening the whole matter, and afterwards most humbly desired his majesty to pardon that woman. For I thought in my conscience she was not guilty ; else I would not for all the world sue for a murderer. The king most graciously heard my humble request, insomuch that I had a pardon ready for her at my return homeward. In the mean season, that same woman was delivered of a child in the tower at Cambridge, whose godfather I was, and mistress Cheke†

* Henry VIII.

† This lady was the mother of Sir John Cheke, the learned tutor of Edward the Sixth.

was god-mother. But all that time I hid my pardon, and told her nothing of it, only exhorting her to confess the truth. At the length the time came when she looked to suffer ; I came as I was wont to do, to instruct her; she made great moan to me. So we travailed with this woman till we brought her to a good trade ; and at the length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This tale I told you by this occasion, that though some women be very unnatural, and forget their children, yet when we hear any body so report, we should not be too hasty in believing the tale, but rather suspend our judgments till we know the truth.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

It is a common speech amongst the people, and much used, that they say, all religious houses are pulled down ; which is a very peevish saying, and not true ; for they are not pulled down. That man and that woman that live together godly and quietly, doing the works of their vocation, and fear God, hear his word and keep it, that same is a religious house ; that is that house that pleaseth God. For

religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well-doing, and as St. James saith, in visiting the orphans, and widows that lack their husbands, orphans that lack their parents ; to help them when they be poor, to speak for them when they be oppressed. Herein standeth true religion, God's religion, I say ; the other which was used, was an unreligious life, yea, rather an hypocrisy. There is a text in Scripture ; I never read it but I remember these religious houses ; "Estque recta homini via, cuius tamen postremum iter est ad mortem." There is a way, which way seemeth to men to be good, whose end is eternal perdition. When the end is naught, all is naught.

So were these monks' houses, these religious houses ; there were many people, specially widows, which would give over house-keeping, and go to such houses, when they might have done much good in maintaining of servants, and relieving of poor people ; but they went their ways. What a madness was that !

Again, how much cause we have to thank God, that we know what is true religion, that God hath revealed unto us the deceitfulness of those monks, which had a goodly shew before the world of great holiness, but they were naught within. Therefore Scripture saith,

"Quod excelsum est hominibus, abominabile est coram Deo," That which is highly esteemed before men, is abominable before God. Therefore that man and woman that live in the fear of God, are much better than their houses were.

I read once a story of a holy man, some say it was St. Anthony, which had been a long season in the wilderness, eating nor drinking nothing but bread and water; at the length he thought himself so holy, that there should be nobody like unto him. Therefore he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to Alexandria; there he should find a cobbler which should be his fellow in heaven. So he went thither and sought him out, and fell acquainted with him, and tarried with him three or four days to see his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together, then they went to their business, he in his shop, and she about her housewifery. At dinner time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their Pater-noster, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you he did not so many

false stitches as cobblers do now-a-days. St. Anthony perceiving that, came to knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption.

By this ensample you may learn, that honest conversation and godly living is much regarded before God; insomuch that this poor cobbler, doing his duty diligently, was made St. Anthony's fellow. So it appeareth, that we be not destitute of religious houses; those which apply their business uprightly and hear God's word, they shall be St. Anthony's fellows; that is to say, they shall be numbered amongst the children of God.

O V E R S I G H T .

There was once a fellow asked a philosopher a question, saying, "Quomodo saginatur equus?" How is a horse made fat? The philosopher made answer saying, "Oculo domini," With his master's eye: not meaning that [the horse should be fed with his master's eye, but that the master should oversee the horse, and take heed to the horse-keeper, that the horse might be well fed. For when a man rideth by the way, and cometh to his inn, and giveth to

the hostler his horse to walk, and so he himself sitteth at the table and maketh good cheer, and forgetteth his horse, the hostler cometh and saith, "Sir, how much bread shall I give unto your horse?" He saith, Give him two-penny worth. I warrant you this horse shall never be fat. Therefore a man should not say to the hostler, Go, give him, but he should see himself that the horse have it. In like manner, those that have servants must not only command them what they shall do, but they must see that it be done; they must be present, or else it shall never be done. One other man asked the same philosopher this question, saying, What dung is it that maketh a man's land most fruitful in bringing forth much corn? Marry, said he, "Vestigia domini," The owner's footsteps, not meaning that the master should come and walk up and down, and tread the ground; but he would have him to come and oversee the servants tilling of the ground, commanding them to do it diligently, and so to look himself upon their work: this shall be the best dung, saith the philosopher. Therefore never trust servants, except you may be assured of their diligence; for I tell you truly, I can come no where but I hear masters complaining of their servants. I think verily they fear not God, they consider not their duties.

CHEATING.

O what falsehood is used in England, yea, in the whole world ! It were no marvel if the fire from heaven fell upon us, like as it did upon the Sodomites, only for our falsehood's sake. I will tell you of some which are practised in my country where I dwell. But I will not tell it you to teach you to do the same, but rather to abhor it : for those which use such deceitfulness, shall be damned world without end, except they repent. I have known some that had a barren cow, and they would fain have had a great deal of money for her ; therefore they go and take a calf of another cow, and put it to this barren cow, and so come to the market, pretending that this cow hath brought this calf ; and so they sell their barren cow six or eight shillings dearer than they should have done else. The man which bought the cow cometh home, peradventure he hath a many children, and hath no more cattle but this cow, and thinketh he shall have some milk for his children ; but when all things cometh to pass, this is a barren cow, and so this poor man is deceived. The other fellow which sold the cow thinketh himself a jolly fellow, and a wise merchant, and he is called one that can

make shift for himself. But I tell thee, whosoever thou art, do so if thou lust, thou shalt do it of this price, thou shalt go to the devil, and there be hanged on the fiery gallows world without end ; and thou art as very a thief as when thou takest a man's purse from him going by the way, and thou sinnest as well against this commandment, "Non facies furtum," Thou shalt do no theft. But these fellows commonly, which use such deceitfulness and guiles, can speak so finely, that a man would think butter should scant melt in their mouths.

I'll tell you another falsehood. I know that some husbandmen go to the market with a quarter of corn. Now they would fain sell dear the worst as well as the best, therefore they use this policy ; they go and put a strike of fine malt or corn in the bottom of the sack, then they put two strikes of the worst that they had, then a good strike aloft in the sack's mouth, and so they come to the market. Now there cometh a buyer, asking, Sir, is this good malt ? I warrant you, saith he, there is no better in this town ; and so he selleth all the malt or corn for the best, when there be but two strikes of the best in his sack. The man that buyeth it, thinketh he hath good malt, he cometh home ; when he putteth the malt out of the sack, the strike which was in the bottom covereth the ill malt which was in the midst, and

so the good man shall never perceive the fraud, till he cometh to the occupying of the corn. The other man that sold it, taketh this for a policy, but it is theft afore God, and he is bound to make restitution of so much as those two strikes which were naught, were sold too dear; so much he ought to restore, or else he shall never come to heaven, if God be true in his word.

I could tell you of one other falsehood, how they make wool to weigh much, but I will not tell it you. If you learn to do those falsehoods whereof I have told you now, then take the sauce with it; namely, that you shall never see the bliss of heaven, but be damned world without end, with the devil and all his angels. Now go when it please you, use falsehood. But I pray you, wherefore will you deceive your neighbour, whom you ought to love as well as your own self? Consider the matter, good people, what a dangerous thing it is to fall in the hands of the ever-living God. Leave falsehood, abhor it, be true and faithful in your calling.

A MARVELLOUS STORY.

I have read once a story of a good bishop, which rode by the way, and was weary, being yet far off from any town. Therefore seeing a fair

house, a great man's house, he went thither, and was very well and honorably received. There was great preparations made for him, and a great banquet ; all things were in plenty. Then the man of the house set out his prosperity, and told the bishop what riches he had, in what honors and dignities he was, how many fair children he had, what a virtuous wife God had provided for him ; so that he had no lack of any manner of thing ; he had no trouble or vexations, neither inward nor outward. Now this holy man hearing the good estate of that man, called one of his servants, and commanded him to make ready the horses ; for the bishop thought that God was not in that house, because there was no temptation there ; he took his leave, and went his ways. Now when he came a two or three mile off, he remembered his book which he had left behind him. He sent his man back again to fetch that book ; and when the servant came again, the house was sunken and all that was in it.

Here it appeareth, that it is a good thing to have temptation. This man thought himself a jolly fellow, because all things went with him. But he knew not St. James's lesson, "*Beatus qui suffert tentationem,*" Blessed is he that endureth temptation.

THE POWER OF KINDNESS.

When I was in Cambridge, Master George Stafford read a lecture, there I heard him ; and in expounding the Epistle to the Romans, coming to that place where St. Paul saith, that we shall overcome our enemy with well-doing, and so heap up hot coals upon his head ; now in expounding of that place, he brought in an example, saying that he knew in London a great rich merchant, which merchant had a very poor neighbour, yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him to come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Dr. Colet* was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the gospel ; the poor man was a papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved

* Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school adjoining the cathedral. He was persecuted by Dr. Fitzjames, bishop of London, but escaped by the favor of archbishop Warham, and died in peace, in 1519.

popery and such kind of things ; the poor man being then present, took a great displeasure against the rich man ; insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before-times ; yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. But it would not be ; the poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him : yea, if he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of the way. One time it happened that he met him in so narrow a street that he could not avoid, but must needs come near him ; yet for all that this poor man had such a stomach against the rich man, I say, that he minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, catched him by the hand, and asked him, saying, Neighbour, what is come into your heart, to take such displeasure with me ? What have I done against you ? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down

upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favor, and they loved as well as ever they did afore. Many a one would have said, Set him in the stocks, let him have bread of affliction, and water of tribulation : but this man did not so. And here you see an ensample of the practice of God's word, in such sort that the poor man, bearing great hatred and malice against the rich man, was brought, through the lenity and meekness of the rich man, from his error and wickedness, to the knowledge of God's word. I would you would consider this ensample well, and follow it.

SUPERSTITION.

What a trust and confidence have we had in holy water, and holy bread ? Also in ringing of holy bells, and such fooleries ? But it was good sport for the devil, he could laugh and be merry at our foolishness ; yea, and order the matter so, to keep us in the same error. For we read in stories, that at some times the devil went away from some men, because of the holy water ; as though that holy water had such strength and power that he could not abide it.

O crafty devil ! he went away, not for fear of the holy water, but because he would maintain men in error and foolishness. And no doubt it was the devil's teaching, the using of this holy water.

It was not long ago since I being with one of my neighbours that was sick, there came in an old woman, and when she saw the man sore sick, she asked whether there was no holy water to be gotten. See here the foolishness of the people, which amidst the light of God's most holy word, will follow such fantasies and delusions of the devil ! Ye know when there was a storm of fearful weather, then we rang the holy bells ; they were they that must make all things well, they must drive away the devil. But I tell you, if the holy bells would serve against the devil, or that he might be put away through their sound, no doubt we would soon banish him out of all England. For I think if all the bells in England should be rung together at a certain hour, I think there would be almost no place, but some bells would be heard there. And so the devil should have no abiding place in England, if ringing of bells would serve : but it is not that that will serve against the devil. Yet we have believed such fooleries in times past ; but it was but mocking, it was the teaching of the devil. And no doubt

we were in a miserable case when we learned of the devil to fight against the devil.

And how much are we bound to God, that he hath delivered us from these gross ignorances, and hath taught us how we should fight and prevail against his enemy. Yet it is a pitiful thing to see, that there be some amongst us which would fain have the old fooleries again ; they are weary of the word of God, they cannot away with it, they would rather have their crossings, and setting up of candles, and such fooleries, than the word of God.

I was once called to one of my kinsfolk ; it was at that time when I had taken degree at Cambridge, and was made master of art ; I was called, I say, to one of my kinsfolk, which was very sick, and died immediately after my coming. Now there was an old cousin of mine, which after the man was dead, gave me a wax candle in my hand, and commanded me to make certain crosses over him that was dead ; for she thought that the devil should run away by and by. Now I took the candle, but I could not cross him as she would have me do, for I had never seen it afore. Now she perceiving that I could not do it, with a great anger took the candle out of my hand, saying, It is a pity that thy father spendeth so much money upon thee ; and so she took the candle, and crossed and

blessed him, so that he was sure enough. No doubt she thought that the devil could have no power against him.

This and such like things, were nothing but illusions of the devil : yet for all that we did so put our trust in them, that we thought we could not be saved without such things. But now let us give God most hearty thanks, that he hath delivered us from such snares and illusions of the devil ; and let us endeavour ourselves most earnestly to hear God's most holy word, and to live after it.

LYING.

No doubt we be full of lies. Consider and examine all estates, and ye shall find all their doings furnished with lies. Go first to men of occupations, consider their lives and conversations, there is in a manner nothing with them but lying. Go to men of authority, go to the lawyers, you shall find stuff enough. For it is seen now-a-days that children learn prettily of their parents to lie, for the parents are not ashamed to lie in presence of their children. The craftsman or merchantman teacheth his prentice to

lie, and to utter his wares with lying and forswearing. “In summâ,” there is almost nothing amongst us but lies ; and therefore parents and masters are in great danger of eternal damnation, for they care not how they bring up their youth, in godliness, or otherwise ; they care not for it. Therefore I exhort you, in God’s behalf, to consider the matter, ye parents : suffer not your children to lie, or tell false tales. When you hear one of your children to make a lie, take him up, and give him three or four good stripes, and tell him that it is naught : and when he maketh another lie, give him six or eight stripes ; and I am sure when you serve him so he will leave it, for it is a common saying, “Vexatio dat intellectum,” Correction giveth understanding. But we see now-a-days, that parents rejoice when their children can make a pretty lie. They say, he will be a pretty witty fellow, he can make a pretty lie. So much is the word of God regarded amongst us !

So likewise, prentices can do nothing but lie ; and the better he can lie the more is he regarded of his master, and the more acceptable ; and therefore there was never such falsehood as there is now ; for the youth is so brought up in lies and falsehood. For we see daily what

falsehood is abroad, how every man deceiveth his neighbour. There will no writing serve now-a-days, every man worketh craftily with his neighbour.

FRIAR JOHN'S TEN COMMANDMENTS.

I will tell you now a pretty story of a friar, to refresh you withal. A limitour of the gray friars, in the time of his limitation, preached many times, and had but one sermon at all times : which sermon was of the Ten Commandments. And because the friar had preached this sermon so often, one that heard it before, told the friar's servant that his master was called, " Friar John Ten Commandments." Wherefore the servant shewed the friar his master thereof, and advised him to preach of some other matters ; for it grieved the servant to hear his master derided. Now the friar made answer, saying, Belike then thou canst say the ten commandments well, seeing thou hast heard them so many a time. Yes, said the servant, I warrant you. Let me hear them, saith the master. Then he began, " Pride, covetousness, leche-

ry," and so numbered the deadly sins for the ten commandments.

And so there be many at this time, which be weary of the old gospel. They would fain hear some new things, they think themselves so perfect in the old ; when they be no more skilful than this servant was in his ten commandments.

A M B I T I O N .

We should learn here to beware of that pestilent poison of ambition, which poison ambition, I say, hath been the cause of the perishing of many a man : for this ambition is the most perilous thing that can be in the world. For an ambitious man is able to subvert and disturb a whole commonwealth : as it most plainly appeared by the Rhodians ; which Rhodians in our time were very mighty, and of great estimation through all the world. Now what was their destruction ? Marry, ambition. Through ambition this mighty island of the Rhodes was lost, and came into the hands of the Turks. For the Chronicle sheweth, that before their destruction, when all things were well yet, the grand-master of Rhodes died. Now there was

one called Andrew Admirall, a Portingale, he desired to be grand-master ; he was an ambitious man, he went about to promote himself, before he was called of God. But for all that, he missed his purpose, so that he was not chosen ; for there was one chosen whom they called Philippe de Villers. But what doth this Andrew ? Because he could not bring his purpose to pass, he sendeth letters to the Great Turk, signifying that if he would come, he would help him to get the island ; which afterwards he did. But yet it cost him his life, for his treason was espied, and so he received a reward according unto his doings.

So ye may perceive by this ensample, which was done in our time, how ungracious a thing this ambition is ; for no doubt where there is ambition, there is division ; where there is division, there followeth desolation, and so finally destruction, even according unto our Saviour's saying ; " Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to nought ; and every city or house divided against itself, shall not stand."

F E A R .

No doubt there hath been here in England many, which have been so vexed and

turmoiled with fear. That same Master Bilney which was burnt here in England for God's word sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a fagot, at the time when the Cardinal* was aloft and bare the swing.

Now when that same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word ; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, for I was familiarly acquainted with him ; but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him. Yet for all that, afterwards he came again, God indued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith, the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burnt for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England.

Martin Luther, that wonderful instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world, which was a long time hid in corners, and neglected ; he writeth of himself, that he hath been sometimes in such an agony of the spirit, that he

* Wolsey.

felt nothing but trembling and fearfulness. And I myself know two or three at this present hour which be in this case.

FINE GEAR.

“Or what went ye out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft raiment, are in kings’ houses.” Here in these words, our Saviour condemned not fine gear, as silk, satin, or velvet; for there is nothing so costly but it may be worn, but not of every body. Kings and great men are allowed to wear such fine gear: but John, he was a clergyman, it behoved not him to wear such gear. Peradventure if he had been a flatterer, as some be now-a-days, then he might have gotten such gear; but John, knowing his office, knew well enough that it behoved not him to wear such fine gear. But how our clergymen wear them, and with what conscience, I cannot tell; but I can tell it behoveth not unto them to wear such delicate things. St. Peter doth disallow gorgeousness in women: how much more then in men! For a man would think that women should have more liberties in such

trifles ; but holy Scripture disalloweth it, and not only in women, but also in men. For he nameth women, because they are more given to that vanity than men be. For Scripture useth sometimes by this word women, to understand men too. And again, by the word men it understandeth women too : for else we should not find in all Scripture that women should be baptized.

Here were a good place to speak against our clergymen which go so gallantly now-a-days. I hear say that some of them wear velvet shoes and velvet slippers. Such fellows are more meet to dance the morrice-dance than to be admitted to preach. I pray God amend such worldly fellows, for else they be not meet to be preachers.

ST. ANTHONY.

We read a pretty story of St. Anthony, which being in the wilderness, led there a very hard and strait life, insomuch that none at that time did the like ; to whom came a voice from heaven, saying, Anthony, thou art not so perfect as is a cobbler that dwelleth at Alexandria. Anthony hearing this, rose up forthwith, and

took his staff, and went till he came to Alexandria, where he found the cobbler. The cobbler was astonished to see so reverend a father come to his house. Then Anthony said unto him, Come and tell me thy whole conversation, and how thou spendest thy time. Sir, said the cobbler, as for me, good works have I none, for my life is but simple and slender. I am but a poor cobbler. In the morning when I rise, I pray for the whole city wherein I dwell, specially for all such neighbours and poor friends as I have. After, I set me at my labor, where I spend the whole day in getting my living, and I keep me from all falsehood, for I hate nothing so much as I do deceitfulness: wherefore, when I make to any man a promise, I keep it and perform it truly. And thus I spend my time poorly, with my wife and children, whom I teach and instruct, as far as my wit will serve me, to fear and dread God. And this is the sum of my simple life.

In this story, you see how God loveth those that follow their vocation and live uprightly, without any falsehood in their dealing. This Anthony was a great holy man, yet this cobbler was as much esteemed before God as he.

THE NATIVITY.

Now by this occasion, as I told you, namely, to shew themselves obedient, came Joseph and Mary unto Bethlehem, a long journey, and poor folks, and peradventure on foot: for we read of no great horses that she had, as our great ladies have now-a-days. Now he that would shew the good behaviour that was between them two, he must surely have much time. We read of no falling out between them, or any ill behaviour on either side. Wherefore all husbands may learn by Joseph, to do their duties toward their wives, and again all wives may learn by her.

And as touching his nativity, the gospel tells us how he was born in a stable among beasts, lacking all manner of necessary things which appertained to young children; insomuch that he had never a cradle. Wherefore Mary his mother wrapped him, as it is most like, in her own apparel, and laid him in a manger, where he was shewed, not to the rulers of this world, neither to kings, potentates or bishops; but rather to simple shepherds and poor servants, keeping their sheep in the field. To these poor wretches the angel of God was sent which proclaimed these great things unto them; say-

ing, “ Be not afraid, for behold I bring you tidings of great gladness that shall come to all people ; for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.”

And thus his first coming is but very poorly, without any jollity or pomp ; but his second coming (as I have told you many a time before) shall be a glorious coming, a beautiful coming. For he shall come accompanied with all his angels ; he shall come with such clearness, that the sun and the moon shall be darkened at his coming. Not that the sun itself of his substance shall be darkened. No, not so ; for it shall give his light ; but it shall not be seen for this great light and clearness, wherein our Saviour shall appear. Now at the first he is come, not with glory or majesty, but with great poverty and misery, which he hath sustained for our sakes.

Now some will say, when they hear what poverty our Saviour suffered, and how Mary his mother was compelled to take a stable for lack of a better lodging, O what a wicked city was this ! What a company of cruel people were these ! But when we consider all things well, we shall find that we be even as wicked as they were. For are not we given now-a-days to covetousness, so that we regard not the poor,

needy, and miserable people ? Seek we not our own commodities, and despise and neglect the poor ? Therefore if thou wilt cry out upon the Bethlehemites, then cry out on thyself, for thou art as wicked, yea, more wicked than they were. For the most part of all Bethlehem knew nothing of our Saviour Christ that he was born ; but we know it, therefore we are inexcusable. God hath sent unto us his preachers, which teach us the way to heaven, they shew us wherein standeth our redemption, they exhort us to godliness, to do good works, to be pitiful, and liberal unto the poor, to help them, and comfort them. But what do we ? Marry, we despise the preachers, we abhor their doctrine, and so consequently refuse Christ himself; for he saith, “*Qui vos suscipit, me suscipit,*” He that receiveth you receiveth me. (Matt. x.) This Christ speaketh by his preachers. Therefore, as I said before, we need not to cry out against Bethlehem, but let us cry out on ourselves, for we are as ill in all points as they were.

DRESS.

But I warrant you, there was many a jolly damsels at that time in Bethlehem ; yet amongst

them all there was not one found that would humble herself so much, as once to go see poor Mary in the stable, and to comfort her. No, no; they were too fine to take so much pains. I warrant you they had their bracelets, and vardingals,* and were trimmed with all manner of fine and costly raiment, like as there be many now-a-days amongst us which study nothing else but how they may devise fine raiment; and in the mean season, they suffer poor Mary to lie in the stable; that is to say, the poor people of God they suffer to perish for lack of necessaries.

But what was her swaddling clothes wherein she laid the king of heaven and earth? No doubt it was poor gear; peradventure it was her kercher which she took from her head, or such like gear; for I think Mary had not much fine linen, she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal, for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days: for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these roundabouts, they were not invented then, the devil was not so cunning to make such

* These were hoops round the lower garments of the ladies, which were sometimes of an enormous magnitude.

gear, he found it out afterward. Therefore Mary had it not. I will say this, and yet not judge other folks' hearts, but only speak after daily appearance and experience; no doubt it is nothing but a token of pride to wear such vardingals, and therefore I think that every godly woman should set them aside. It was not for nought that St. Paul advertised all women to give a good ensample of sadness, soberness, and godliness, in setting aside all wantonness and pride. And he speaketh of such manner of pride as was used in his time: "Non tortis crinibus," not with laying out the hair artificially: "Non plicaturâ capillorum," not with laying out the tusocks. (1 Tim. ii.) I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time to shew their wantonness and foolishness. Therefore, as I said before, seeing that God abhorreth all pride, and vardingals are nothing else but an instrument of pride, I would wish that women would follow the counsel of St. Paul, and set aside such gorgeous apparel, and rather study to please God, than to set their mind upon pride; or else, when they will not follow the counsel of St. Paul, let them scrape out those words wherewith he forbiddeth them

their proudness: otherwise the words of St. Paul will condemn them at the last day. I say no more, wise folks will do wisely, the words of St. Paul are not written for nothing; if they will do after his mind, they must set aside their foolish vardingals: but if they will go forward in their foolishness and pride, the reward which they shall have at the end shall not be taken from them.

THE SHEPHERDS.

But I pray you to whom was the nativity of Christ first opened? To the bishops or great lords which were at that time at Bethlehem? Or to those jolly damsels with their vardingals, with their roundabouts, or with their bracelets? No, no; they had so many hindrances to trim and dress themselves, that they could have no time to hear of the nativity of Christ: their minds were so occupied otherwise that they were not allowed to hear of them. But his nativity was revealed first to the shepherds, and it was revealed unto them in the night-time, when every body was at rest; then they heard the joyful tidings of the Saviour of the world. For these shepherds were keeping their sheep in the night-season from the wolf or other beasts, and

from the fox : for the sheep in that country do lamb two times in the year, and therefore it was needful for the sheep to have a shepherd to keep them. And here note the diligence of these shepherds : for whether the sheep were their own, or whether they were servants, I cannot tell, for it is not expressed in the book ; but it is most like they were servants, and their masters had put them in trust to keep their sheep. Now if these shepherds had been deceitful fellows, that when their masters had put them in trust to keep their sheep, they had been drinking in the alehouse all night, as some of our servants do now-a-days, surely the angels had not appeared unto them to have told them this great joy and good tidings. And here all servants may learn by these shepherds to serve truly and diligently unto their masters ; in what business soever they are set to do, let them be painful and diligent, like as Jacob was unto his master Laban. O what a painful, faithful and trusty man was he ! He was day and night at his work, keeping his sheep truly, as he was put in trust to do ; and when any chance happened that any thing was lost, he made it good, and restored it again of his own. So likewise was Eleazar a painful man, a faithful and trusty servant. Such a servant was Joseph in Egypt to his master Potiphar ;

so likewise was Daniel unto his master the king. But I pray you where are these servants now-a-days ? Indeed I fear me there be but very few of such faithful servants.

Now these shepherds, I say, they watch the whole night, they attend upon their vocation, they do according to their calling, they keep their sheep, they run not hither and thither, spending the time in vain, and neglecting their office and calling. No, they did not so. Here by these shepherds all men may learn to attend upon their offices and callings. I would wish that all clergymen, the curates, parsons, and vicars, the bishops, and all other spiritual persons, would learn this lesson by these poor shepherds ; which is this, to abide by their flocks and by their sheep, to tarry amongst them, to be careful over them, and not run hither and thither after their own pleasure, but tarry by their benefices and feed their sheep with the food of God's word, and to keep hospitality, and so to feed them both soul and body. For I tell you these poor unlearned shepherds shall condemn many a stout and great learned clerk : for these shepherds had but the care and charge over brute beasts, and yet were diligent to keep them, and to feed them ; and the other have the cure over God's lambs which he bought with the death of his Son, and yet

they are so careless, so negligent, so slothful over them; yea, and the most part intendeth not to feed the sheep, but they long to be fed of the sheep: they seek only their own pastimes, they care for no more. But what said Christ to Peter? What said he? "Petre, amas me?" Peter, lovest thou me? Peter made answer, Yes. "Then feed my sheep." And so the third time he commanded Peter to feed his sheep. But our clergymen do declare plainly that they love not Christ, because they feed not his flock. If they had earnest love to Christ, no doubt they would shew their love, they would feed his sheep.

But it is a thing to be lamented, that the prelates and other spiritual persons will not attend upon their offices. They will not be amongst their flocks, but rather will run hither and thither, here and there, where they are not called, and in the mean season, leave them at adventure of whom they take their living. Yea, and furthermore, some will rather be clerks of kitchens, or take other offices upon them besides that which they have already. But with what conscience these same do so, I cannot tell. I fear they shall not be able to make answer at the last day for their follies, as concerning that matter: for this office is such a heavy and weighty office that it requireth a

whole man. Yea, and let every curate or parson keep his cure to which God hath appointed him, and let him do the best that he can ; yet I tell you he cannot choose but the devil will have some, for he sleepeth not : he goeth about day and night to seek whom he may devour. Therefore it is need for every godly minister to abide by his sheep, seeing that the wolf is so near, and to keep them, and withstand the wolf. Indeed there be some ministers here in England which do no good at all, and therefore it were better for them to leave their benefices, and give room unto others.

CHRIST AMONG THE POOR.

And so it appeareth that we may not seek Christ in the glistering of this world. For what is so common as water ? What is so common as bread and wine ? Yet he promised to be found there when he is sought with a faithful heart. So will you have Christ ? Where shall you find him ? Not in the jollities of this world, but in rags, in the poor people. Have you any poor people amongst you in your town or city ? Seek him there amongst the rags ; there shall you find him. And I will prove it

on this wise. He saith himself with his own mouth, Whatsoever ye do to these little ones, "minimis," that do ye unto me. By these words appeareth manifestly, that whatsoever ye do unto the poor people which are despised in this world, ye do it to himself. Therefore I say yet again, when ye will seek Christ seek him in the rags, seek him in the manger amongst the poor folk, where you shall find him. But you must understand that when I speak of poverty, I speak not of this wilful poverty of the monks and friars; for that was a hypocritical poverty, that poverty was full of all manner of delicate things. "Nihil habeant, et tamen omnia habeant," They had nothing, and yet they had all. They were wise enough, they could make shift for themselves, I warrant you. Therefore I speak not of that poverty: for it was a wicked, abominable, and hypocritical poverty. But I speak of the very poor and needy flock of Christ, which have not wherewith to live in this world. Those I would have you to refresh, to cherish, and to help them with your superfluity. Amongst that poor company seek Christ, and no doubt you shall find him.

A STORY OF THE DEVIL.

It appeareth throughout all the Scripture most plainly and manifestly, that the power of the devil is vanquished, when the word of God is used against him ; and not only in the Scripture, both New and Old Testament, but also in other writings. For Eusebius Pamphilius hath many stories, wherein is mentioned the impotency of the devil. And at this time we have a story written by a Spaniard in the Latin tongue, and affirmed by many godly and well learned men : which story happened in a town of Germany, where a poor husbandman lying sore sick and ready to die, they that kept him company in the chamber where he lay, saw a man of great stature and very horrible to look upon, his eyes being all fiery, coming into the chamber. This terrible devil turning himself unto the sick body, said, "Sir, thou must die this day, and I am come hither to fetch thy soul, for that pertaineth unto me." The sick man answered with a good countenance, saying, "I am ready to depart whensoever I shall be called of my Lord, which gave unto me my soul, and put the same into my body ; therefore to him only I will deliver it, and not unto thee, for he hath delivered my soul from thy power,

with the precious blood of his only Son." Then said the devil, "Thou art laden with many sins, and I am come hither to write them together." And forth he draweth out of his bosom, pen, ink, and paper, setting himself at the table that stood there ready to write. The sick man hearing his mind, and perceiving his intent, said, "I know myself laden with many sins, but yet I believe that the same are taken away through the passion and suffering of Christ, through whom I steadfastly believe that his heavenly Father is pleased with me. But yet if thou wilt write my sins, thou mayest do it, and then write thus, that all my righteousness is as cloth stained: therefore I cannot stand in the judgment of God." The devil sitting at the table, wrote this with a good will, and desired the sick man to go forward in confessing, and numbering his sins. Then the sick man alleging the Scriptures saith, "that the eternal and living God promised, saying, for mine own sake only I take away your iniquities. Further thou, O God, hast promised, that though our sins be as red as the scarlet, thou wilt make them as white as the snow." But these words he wrote not, but instantly desired him to go forward as he had begun. The sick man with great sorrow and heaviness cried out, saying, "The Son of God appeared

to that end, that he might destroy the works of the devil." And after these words the devil vanished out of sight, and shortly after the sick man departed to the living God.

CHRIST'S PREACHING.

What moved our Saviour Christ to use this parable, and to take a similitude of husbandry to teach the people withal ? It is requisite in a preacher to apply himself after his audience that is to say, when his audience is learned, or when he preacheth before learned men, then it is meet for a preacher to set out his matters learnedly. And again, when he is amongst the ignorant and unlearned people, to use himself so that they may perceive both him and his doctrine : for a good and godly preacher must endeavour himself to do good, and not to set out his learning, whereby to gain the praise of the world, and to be noted a learned man.

Therefore our Saviour kept this rule ; he having a respect to his audience, used a common manner of teaching. For at that time, some used to teach the people in apologetics, bringing in how one beast talketh with another ; which manner of teaching the heathen

much used. And at this time when Christ preached, the Jews' manner was to teach commonly by similitudes. Therefore our Saviour not intending to bring any new manner of teaching in amongst them, did therefore use their common manner of teaching, which was by similitudes. For as the coming of our Saviour Christ into this world was low and humble, so his preaching was simple and plain; and here he used this familiar and plain similitude of husbandry, giving therewith an ensample to all preachers of his word to beware of vain-glory, and only to seek to edify and to profit their audience: like as he himself did, which was not ashamed, after his coming down from heaven, to teach his audience by husbandry, and thereby to exhort them to goodness. So let not the preachers now in this time be ashamed to apply their matter after the capacity of their audience, that they may do them good.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

Here I must take occasion to speak somewhat: they be many now-a-days very hasty to bury their friends, yea, sometimes before they

be well dead. I heard say once, that a young woman was sick, and fell in a swoon ; her friends which were with her, by and by made her ready to be buried ; and when they went with the corse, and were coming into the church-yard, the corse stirred, and the vicar commanded them that bare her to set her down, and so finally the woman recovered. I tell this tale, to the end to give you warning, not to be too hasty with sick folk.

I have read in St. Augustine, that there was once a man which lay seven days speechless, neither seeing, nor hearing, nor yet receiving any sustenance, except some liquor, which they poured in his throat with a quill. Now that same man, after seven days, spake again ; and the first word that he spake was this, What is the clock ? he thought he had lain but a little while. Now, if his friends had been so hasty with him, he should have been buried before that time. Therefore I admonish you, not to be too hasty with dead corses ; as long as they be warm, keep them in the bed ; or when a man is dead indeed, he will soon be cold.

When Christ went into a city which is called Nain, and many of his disciples following him, and much people ; when he was come nigh to the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out, which was the only son

of his mother, and she was a widow, and much people of the city went with her. And here you may note by the way, that these citizens had their burying-place without the city, which no doubt is a laudable thing ; and I do much marvel that London, being so rich a city, hath not a burying-place without ; for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, specially at such a time when there be great sicknesses, so that many die together.

I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's church-yard :* and this I speak of experience, for I myself when I have been there in some mornings to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-favored, unwholesome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after. And I think no less, but it be the occasion of much sickness and diseases. Therefore the citizens of Nain had a good and laudable custom, to bury their corses without the city, which ensample we may follow.

* In our author's time, and much earlier, St. Paul's church-yard was a common burying-place for all sorts of citizens and others ; insomuch that Stowe tells us, in the year 1549, "the bones of the dead couched up in a charnel, under the chapel, were conveyed from thence to Finsbury Field, (by report of him who paid for the carriage) amounting to more than one thousand cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground, in short space after raised, by soilage of the city upon them, to bear three mills," from whence the place was called Mountmill.

PHYSICIANS.

When our Saviour was going amongst this great multitude to Jairus's house, there cometh a woman through the people, desirous to touch his garment. The evangelist Mark setteth out this story more plainly than Matthew doth; he saith, "There was a certain woman which had been diseased of an issue twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and felt no amendment at all, but rather was worse and worse. When she had heard of Jesus, she came in the press of the people behind him, and touched his garment: for she said, If I only may touch the hem of his clothes I shall be whole." This woman was sick of a grievous disease, and had been sick of it twelve years; "Passa est multa," She had suffered much sorrow by it; for no doubt whosoever hath to do with physicians he must be a sufferer: it is an irksome thing to go to physic: a man must receive many bitter medicines and potions. Therefore Mark saith, "She suffered much; they had put her to great pain, and she had bestowed all her substance upon them, and was never the better, but rather the worse." Belike she had been a woman of great riches, of great

substance, else she should not have been able to wage physicians so long. This place of Scripture reproveth not physicians, as though physic were a superfluous thing, and not necessary, because this woman was not healed ; as when ye would reason of this manner : What ! shall I go to physie ? No, that I will not, for I read in Scripture, that a woman spent all her goods upon physicians, and yet was never the better. But this text maketh no more against physic, than this text doth against labor, where Peter saith, “ Per totam noctem laboravimus, et nihil cepimus,” We have labored the whole night, and have gotten nothing. Now a rash fellow will say, What ! hath St. Peter labored all night and caught nothing ? then I will not labor at all, for I shall get nothing with my labor : but this is a foolish reasoning. For though the woman spent all upon physicians, and yet was not healed ; and though Peter labored all night, and catched nothing, yet for all that we are allowed to use physic, and commanded to labor. For so saith Scripture ; “ Honora medicum propter necessitatem,” Honor the physician for need’s sake. “ Item, A Deo est omnis medela,” from God is all cure, and the highest hath created the medicine. If we knew the virtue of every herb, we might be our own physicians, but we know them not ;

therefore God hath ordained, that some should give themselves to the knowledge of such things, and then teach others.

SWEARING.

Let parents take heed how they speak in the presence of their children, and masters ought to take heed how they give ensamples unto their servants: for there be some masters and parents, that will swear in the presence of their children, yea, they will teach them to swear. Our Saviour, how earnestly he commanded us to beware of swearing. Therefore parents ought to take heed, and specially such as be rulers over houses, or be officers. If they do swear, all the household will swear too, for it is commonly seen that the servant followeth the behaviours of his master, when they be ill; but the servants are not so hasty to follow their masters in goodness. And this swearing is so come in an use, that we can say nothing at all, but we must swear thereunto, by God, or by my faith, or such like gear. But there be some, which when they be reprehended because of their swearing, they will say, men will not believe me except I swear; which is a token that

they have been great liars. For every true man is to be believed without swearing : and therefore take this for a certain rule, that when a man is not ashamed, or hath not a conscience to break this law of God, that is to swear, he will not be ashamed, neither have any conscience to lie, to do against the commandment ; for because swearing is as well forbidden as lying, and lying as swearing ; therefore he that maketh no conscience in the one, will make less conscience in the other. I myself have had sometimes in use to say in my earnest matters, yea, by St. Mary, and such like things ; which indeed is naught. For we are commanded not to swear at all.

APPAREL.

Here I might have occasion to speak against this excess of apparel, which is used now every where, which thing is disallowed in Scripture. There be some that will be conformable unto others, they will do as others do, but they consider not with themselves, whether others do well or not. There be laws made and certain statutes, how every one in his estate shall be apparelled, but God knoweth the statutes

are not put in execution. St. Paul he commandeth us to put on Christ, to leave these gorgeous apparels ; he that is decked with Christ, he is well ; and first we be decked with Christ in our baptism, where we promise to forsake the devil with all his works.

Now when we keep this promise, and leave wickedness, and do that which Christ our Saviour requireth of us, then we be decked with him, then we have the wedding garment ; and though we be very poor, and have but a russet coat, yet we are well, when we are decked with him.

There be a great many which go very gay in velvet and satin ; but for all that, I fear they have not Christ upon them, for all their gorgeous apparel. I say not this to condemn rich men of their riches ; for no doubt poor and rich may have Christ upon them, if they will follow him and live as he commandeth them to live. For if we have Christ upon us, we will not make provision for the flesh, we will not set our hearts upon these worldly trifles, to get riches, to cherish this body withal.

THE FIRST PREACHERS.

These shepherds were not offended with the poverty of our Saviour, and did therefore stay and meddle no further, but they went forth and preached and talked of it to other folks ; which thing they could not do without peril of their lives. Yet for all that these poor shepherds were content to lose their lives in God's quarrel. Therefore they go and teach their neighbours and others how the Messias and Saviour of the world was born of a virgin, and how the angel of God had opened it unto them.

But what followed of their teaching, or what became of it ? It begot a wondering and a gazing : every body marvelled at it, and was desirous to talk of it, because it was a new matter ; as we see in this our time, a great number of people pretend the gospel and bear the name of gospellers, because it is a new thing, and therefore it is the more pleasant unto them. So was it at that time, every body would talk of it in all places, but there were few or none that believed. For we read not that any of them went forth to seek the child, and so to confirm his or their faith ; no, there was none. It was but a talk, and so they used it : wherein you may note the unfaithfulness and unthank-

fulness of this world, which will not receive the great benefits of God offered unto us. The shepherds told them how the angel of God had opened the matter to them, but the foolish people would not believe it. And even so at this time the preachers go abroad and shew unto the people what God had done for them, how he had delivered them from sin, death and hell. But the people are so blinded with unthankfulness, that they will not believe the benefits of God, nor receive them, but make a gazing and a wondering at the matter.

SILENCE.

But what did Mary the mother of Christ ? What did she ? The evangelist saith, "She pondered it in her heart," she weighed the matter with herself. She did not as our well-spoken dames do : she took not in hand to preach : she knew that silence in a woman is a great virtue, therefore she made nothing of the matter : she boasted not of her stock, to be of the lineage of noble king David ; neither did she praise her own child, but would rather hear him to be praised of another ; she tarried until the Lord himself had opened the matter ;

neither would she be too hasty in promoting herself to honor.

Here may all women learn to follow the example of Mary, to leave their talk and vain speaking, and to keep silence. For what was the cause of the fall of mankind, but the unmeasurable talk of Eve which took in hand to reason the matter with the serpent? She thought herself very learned, and able to convince him. So are there too many now which take too much upon them. Such women may learn here of Mary to keep their tongues in better order. All women commonly make much of the mother of Christ, yea, some call upon her: but for all that they will not follow her example and goodness.

JESUS LOST.

Jesus and Mary with all their neighbours were at Jerusalem; and after they had done their business, they came home again, Mary in the company of other women, and Joseph her husband in the company of men. But Jesus the child was left behind, for Mary thought he was with his father, and Joseph thought he was with his mother. At night when they were met

together, she asked him, and he asked her for the child ; for before they were not aware that they had lost him. O what sorrow and tribulation rose then in their hearts ! I think no tongue can shew what pain and sorrow this mother felt in her heart, for the loss of her child. For she thought thus, God hath rejected me, and therefore hath taken my son from me ! I shall no more find him. Alas ! that ever I was born ! that I should lose my son, whom I heard say should be the Saviour of the world ! This Saviour is lost now through my negligence and slothfulness. What shall I do ? Where shall I seek him ? In this great heaviness, she turned back again to Jerusalem, inquiring for him by the way amongst their friends and acquaintance. But he could neither be heard of nor found until they came to Jerusalem, where they found him amongst the doctors and learned men, arguing with them, and posing them.

MOURNING.

In the time of popery, before the gospel came amongst us, we went to burials with weeping and wailing, as though there were no God : but since the gospel came unto us, I have heard say,

that in some places they go with the corses grinning and flearing, as though they went to a bear-baiting. Which thing no doubt is naught : for like as too much weeping is naught, so to be *ασογγος*, without affection, is naught too ; we should keep a measure in all things. We read in holy Scripture, that the holy patriarch Abraham mourned for his wife Sarah. So likewise did Joseph for his father Jacob. Therefore to weep charitably and measurably is not ill, but good, and allowed, in God's word. So likewise in the New Testament, when that holy man St. Stephen was stoned to death, the text saith, that the church “fecerunt planetum magnum,” made great lamentation and weeping over him. Here I might have occasion to speak against those women which so soon forget their husbands that be departed ; which thing I cannot very well allow, for it is a token of imperfect love. It was a law among the Romans, that no woman should marry again before twelve months were expired ; which no doubt was an honest law.

A SAUCY FELLOW.

You have heard now who is the maker of this feast or banquet ; and again you have

heard what meat is prepared for the guests ; what a costly dish the house-father hath ordain-ed at the wedding of his son. But now ye know, that where there be great dishes and delicate fare, there be commonly prepared cer-tain sauces, which shall give men a great lust and appetite to their meats, as mustard, vine-gar, and such like sauces. So this feast, this costly dish hath its sauces ; but what be they ? Marry, the cross, affliction, tribulation, perse-cution, and all manner of miseries ; for, like as sauces make lusty the stomach to receive meat, so affliction stirreth up in us a desire to Christ. For when we be in quietness we are not hun-gry, we care not for Christ. But when we be in tribulation, and cast in prison, then we have a desire to him, then we learn to call upon him ; then we hunger and thirst after him ; then we are desirous to feed upon him. As long as we be in health and prosperity, we care not for him ; we be slothful, we have no stomach at all ; and therefore these sauces are very necessary for us. We have a common saying amongst us, when we see a fellow sturdy, lofty, and proud, men say, this is a saucy fellow ; signi-fying him to be a high-minded fellow, which taketh more upon him than he ought to do, or his estate requireth ; which thing, no doubt, is naught and ill ; for every one ought to behave

himself according unto his calling and estate.

But he that will be a christian man, that intendeth to come to heaven, must be a saucy fellow ; he must be well powdered with the sauce of affliction and tribulation ; not with proudness and stoutness, but with miseries and calamities ; for so it is written, “*Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo, persecutionem patientur,*” Whosoever will live godly in Christ, he shall have persecution and miseries : he shall have sauce enough to his meat.

Now you know, at a great feast, when there is made a delicate dinner, and the guests fare well, at the end of the dinner they have certain subtleties, custards, sweet and delicate things ; so when we come to this dinner, to this wedding, and feed upon Christ, and take his sauces which he hath prepared for us ; at the end cometh the sweet meat ; what is that ? Marry, remission of sins, and everlasting life ; such joy, that no tongue can express, nor heart can think ; which God hath prepared for all them that come to this dinner, and feed upon his Son, and taste of his sauces.

THE END.

JAN 22

